



# The Antiquary.



DECEMBER, 1894.

## Notes of the Month.

READERS of the *Antiquary* will, we trust, be pleased to learn, that with the New Year, several alterations and improvements will be introduced in the production of the magazine. In the first place, fresh and different paper will be used, which, having a smooth surface, will be better adapted for the clear printing of illustrations. The tone of the paper, however, will be the same as that hitherto used, so that the continuity of the new volumes with those which have preceded them, will not be broken. The illustrations, too, will be increased in number in regard to the proportion of letterpress, while the price of the magazine will be reduced to sixpence a month. These changes will, we are confident, commend themselves to our friends and subscribers. The chief desire of the managers of the magazine is, that the *Antiquary* may prove of more and more service to the student of archæology, as time goes on. This it can only succeed in doing, by continuing to receive the cordial co-operation and assistance of its many friends and supporters. We shall rely on their help and support in the future, to make the new departure a success.

Seldom, probably, has a greater amount of nonsense been written in the newspapers than has lately been the case in connection  
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with the opening of the tumulus on Parliament Hill, which is popularly supposed to have been the burial-place of Queen Boadicea. It was a subject, with just enough of mystery and romance about it, to catch the public ear, and over it the penny-a-liner has simply run riot. The exploration of the tumulus, however, has been a very proper act, and antiquaries will recognise with gratitude the action of the London County Council in the matter. Although the notion that the remains of Queen Boadicea would be found was too absurd to be seriously entertained, there was, on the other hand, no reason why the opening of the mound might not result in some more or less important discovery. The direction of the investigation was placed in the competent hands of Mr. Charles Hercules Read, the Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries. Although the result has not realized the expectations of that section of the populace which looked for the disinterment of Queen Boadicea's remains, accompanied by countless archæological treasures such as the world has seldom beheld, the investigation has not been wholly fruitless, for it has materially helped to determine the character of the tumulus.

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We borrow the following account of the opening of the tumulus from the *Times*: "It need scarcely be said that the popular belief that this tumulus was the resting-place of the British Queen possesses no foundation in history, and is, in addition, very improbable. Dion Cassius, the only writer who gives any account of her burial, states that she was buried by the Britons with great splendour, and there can be little doubt that if his story is to be relied upon the interment took place within the limits of her own territory, and that the grave of Boadicea must be looked for rather in the eastern counties than the north side of London. A second theory, containing more elements of probability, is endorsed by Professor Hales. This is that a battle took place in the neighbourhood of Hampstead, between the inhabitants of Verulamium and those of London, and that the bodies of the slain were heaped up and covered by a mound, possibly the tumulus now in question. The investigations now in progress have, however, proved conclusively

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that if such a relic of the battle exists it is not on this spot. So great a mass of human remains as would result from even a moderate number of slain could scarcely have disappeared without leaving a trace, either of bones or in the changed character of the soil. No such indications have been found in the body of the barrow, and a different explanation of its origin and purpose must be looked for.



"The present condition of the tumulus is that of a nearly circular mound lying upon the slope of the hill towards Highgate Ponds, the centre being about 11 feet above the surface-line. Around it is a ditch, ranging from 2 feet to 3 feet in depth, and having an old hedge upon its inner bank. This ditch there is some reason for believing to be of recent construction, and that the original ditch of the barrow was within the hedge, not outside it. The whole was enclosed by the County Council as soon as it became their property within a light iron fence, at the suggestion, we believe, of Sir John Lubbock. The diameter within the fence is about 140 feet, but if the present ditch be modern, the original diameter would be 40 feet less. The only superficial peculiarity in the shape of the mound was that on the eastern and western sides the slope from the crown to the hedge was much less abrupt than on the north and south, and that, in fact, at those points there was a broad rib reaching to the hedge on either side. This feature raised the question whether, after all, the mound might not belong to the much rarer class of 'long barrows,' memorials of a period even more remote than the introduction of bronze into Britain; but up to the present no evidence has been forthcoming in support of this view.



"The exploration has been conducted on the same lines as have been adopted for many years past by Canon Greenwell and by General Pitt-Rivers, though the more minute methods of recording discoveries used by the latter explorer are scarcely possible with public funds. The first and most considerable excavation was a wide trench on the ground-level from the south side of the

mound. This trench, 16 feet in width, was driven well beyond the centre of the mound, and in cutting it several 'pockets' of charcoal were discovered at various depths, but no traces of bone, human or of any other kind, were found among it, nor, what is even more remarkable, was there in any part of the trench a single flint implement or flake that could be considered the work of man. The most considerable of these deposits of charcoal was found upon the ground-level, and as nearly as possible under the centre of the barrow. Once the trench had passed the centre, the floor was probed for a possible cist or grave, and although the probing was not promising, it was considered safer to sink pits in the more probable spots. It was found, however, that the undisturbed clay was invariably met with at a depth of less than 2 feet from the floor of the trench, and the idea of finding an interment in the centre had to be abandoned. With the view of testing the construction of the rib-like extensions east and west, a cutting was made across the one at the east, and this revealed a curious change that had been made in the shape of the barrow. At a depth of slightly over 3 feet from the surface a black layer was cut through, containing fragments of Chinese porcelain, Dutch delft, and pieces of old tobacco-pipes, of the 'plague-pipe' description. This layer, containing similar relics of a recent time, was also found within 2 feet of the crown in cutting the main trench, but on the east side only. The objects found, though of a very fragmentary character, may fairly be placed at the end of the seventeenth century, or perhaps a little later. It would therefore seem that at about that date a quantity of soil was thrown up on the eastern side of the mound, covering up these broken pots, and extending the edge of the tumulus in that direction. Thus the original centre of the mound would be so much further westwards than the apparent centre. The west side of the trench was accordingly cut away near the middle, but without any further discoveries being made.



"It will probably long be uncertain when mounds are investigated and neither an interment nor evidences of human work are met

with, whether such a mound has ever contained a burial at all. In the present case, the balance of evidence leans rather towards the conclusion that it is a British barrow. It is undoubtedly of some considerable age in a modern sense. This is proved by the occurrence of a regular layer containing relics dating back some two centuries. It is equally without doubt an artificial mound, from the mixture in it of the various strata composing the ground around it. The absence of bones is by no means conclusive. It is due, in Canon Greenwell's words, 'to the entire decay of the skeleton, in cases where no weapon, implement, ornament, or vase has accompanied the body.' The presence of the charcoal through the mound also connects it intimately with ancient British interments; in them it appears to be a constant accompaniment to unburied bodies. Thus, with the present evidence, there is ground for believing that 'Boadicea's tomb' is probably an ancient British burial-place, no doubt hundreds of years older than her time, and the London County Council may feel satisfied that their small grant has not been expended in vain. Mr. C. H. Read, F.S.A., who has superintended the work throughout, has been assisted by Mr. George Payne, F.S.A., whose knowledge of geology as well as archaeology has been of great value."



A large stone of cylindrical shape, with lettering at each end, was recently noticed in the bed of the river Petterill, below Gallows Hill, Carlisle. On being hauled out, it proved to be a Roman milestone that had been inverted and re-used, thus accounting for the two inscriptions. The stone is 6 feet long, cylindrical, with a rough face worked down one side.



The earlier inscription, so far as at present deciphered, is :

IMP C.M.  
AVR MAS  
CASAVSIO PF  
INVICTO AVG.

There is some doubt about the last three letters of the second line. One would have expected VAL, as the name of the Emperor

Carausius was Marcus Aurelius Valerius Carausius. The supposed M may be some ligatured letters; the A is a certainty. Inscriptions to this Emperor are very rare indeed. Possibly this is unique. The inscription at the other end is :

FLVAL  
CONS  
TANT  
NO NOB  
CAES

If the letter commencing the fourth line is N, the Emperor will be Constantine the Great, before he assumed the title of Maximus, the I being either broken off at the edge or ligatured with the T. But it has been read PI (Pio), and the Emperor might be Constantius, he and Constantinus Maximus being both Flavius Valerius. But it is not certain that either was styled Pius. Romans frequently honoured a new or favourite Emperor by dedicating new milestones to him; so sometimes six or seven milestones, all dedicated to different Emperors, may occur at one place. Sometimes, as at Port Talbot, at Castleford, and here, they inverted and re-used an old stone. The new stone has at present yielded no information as to mileage, but the Carausius inscription appears to have been much longer, and to have been destroyed. It is probable that the four lines that remain were set in a socket when the stone was inverted, while those that followed, being above the socket and upside down, were erased. There is no trace of any continuation of the other inscription. This stone marked the first mile out of Carlisle, on the road to York and London, and has probably been rolled into the Petterill from the top of the Gallows Hill. Squeezes have been sent to Mr. Haverfield.



Another Roman inscribed stone has also been found, or rather refound, near Carlisle. It was first found in the West Walls, Carlisle, in 1828, and is recorded by the Rev. John Hodgson, in his *History of Northumberland*, as in possession of his brother Christopher, and the account was copied by Dr. Bruce into the *Lapidarium*; but the stone itself has long been lost. It has just been refound among a heap of stones lying in a shrubbery

in the garden at Newby Grange, some five miles east of Carlisle, and must have been there twenty or thirty years. It reads :

[D] M.  
AVR SENECITA.  
V. AN. XX(?) IVL  
FORTV //

The rest is broken off, and was missing in 1828, and what is left is now broken into two. A son of Christopher Hodgson was the architect of Newby Grange, and he probably gave this stone to its then owner, the late W. N. Hodgson, M.P. These fragments and the milestones are now in Tullie House, Carlisle, where also have been sent two curious harpoon heads of bone, each about a foot long, and found near Newby Grange about seventeen years ago in a boggy field, which is full of trunks of trees. It has been suggested this field contains a cranoge, and search will be made next spring with a view of deciding this conjecture.



A curious find occurred in Tullie House. A small bronze figure was found in a box of supposed rubbish from the old museum. On a paper label pasted in the back it is marked *Xpovos* and Saturnus. The figure represents an old bald-headed man, and on his chest are arranged six letters which it has been suggested are Etruscan, and that they should be read :

K N  
R U  
U S—or Crunus.

Saturn was an Etruscan deity, but the writer does not know what the Etruscans called him.



While making alterations in Packington Church, Leicestershire, a little time ago, some memorial stones were found under the brick floor at the north-east end of the north aisle of the nave. This part of the church had been previously covered by pews. Among the memorials so discovered, is one of the greater portion of a brass representing the figure of a priest, habited in a loose and flowing surplice with wide sleeves, which is shown as worn over a cassock.

Over the surplice is a fur almuce, with two long tails hanging stole-wise in front. Unfortunately the head is gone, neither is there any inscription left to tell whom the brass represents. There should, however, be no great difficulty in ascertaining this, as the fur almuce in all probability indicates, that the person whose effigy is thus depicted, was a canon or dignitary of some cathedral or collegiate church. The limits of date would seem, from the illustration given in the *Leicester and Rutland Notes and Queries*, part xxi., to be, roughly speaking, between 1450—1550. What incumbent of Packington within those limits held canonical rank? This ascertained, the identity of the priest would in all probability be accurately ascertained. The other memorial stones were mostly of a later date, and belong to members of the Leeson family, at one time resident in the parish.



Speaking of the discovery of this brass, we may also mention that of another recently found at Otterden Church, Kent. The Otterden brass represents Sir Thomas St. Leger, knight, who died in 1408. It shows a full-length figure of a knight in armour. There is also a marginal legend, nearly perfect, but two shields of arms are missing from the slab. Otterden Church was rebuilt in 1753-54, and the brass, then hidden, was unrecorded, and was only brought to light during some alterations in the church last September. An illustration of it is given in our contemporary, the *Reliquary*, for October, 1894, accompanied by a description written by Canon Scott Robertson, the Rector of Otterden, and Secretary of the Kent Archaeological Society.



Among the different archaeological works, new editions of which may be looked for shortly, is that of *Old English Plate*, by Mr. Wilfred Cripps, C.B., F.S.A. The fifth edition will, we are informed, be soon in the hands of the public. It is very seldom, indeed, that any work on an antiquarian subject is so successful as Mr. Cripps's work has been, and we cordially congratulate the author on this fresh evidence of the continued prosperity of this standard work.



A very curious small carved stone has been unearthed on a farm at Towie, Aberdeenshire. It measures  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches across the broadest part, and is about a quarter of an inch in thickness. The material appears to be a black slate, and both sides of the stone are covered with carving, but, as it is a broken fragment of a larger object, it is not easy to explain what its use has been. From the illustration of it which is given in *Scottish Notes and Queries* for last month, it looks as if it may have been a portion of a mould. On one side are two hearts, some doubtful central figure, a bird, and a snake. The other side has been covered with a wheel device. The stone will, no doubt, receive the attention from antiquaries which it undoubtedly seems to merit.



In the *Antiquary* for October, we recorded the local efforts which are being made in the old Sussex cinque port town of Rye, to rescue and save from demolition many of the relics of its former days of prosperity and importance. We have since received an auctioneer's notice for the sale, on October 31, of the former Mermaid Inn, a well-known ancient hostelry of the town, which was turned into private dwellings in the middle of last century. Perhaps for the benefit of the archaeologist of the future, we may as well put on record the exact description in the auctioneer's notice :

"Lot 1.—All that desirable freehold property formerly known as the Mermaid Inn, but now forming 36 and 37, Mermaid Street, with two cottages adjoining in the rear. No. 36 contains two front sitting-rooms, large kitchen (with old oak panelling and ancient stone mantelpiece, ornamented with Tudor roses), washhouse, three pantries, larder and large cellar, large bedroom (with old Dutch-tile fireplace), and five other rooms upstairs, and extensive garrets, together with a capital walled-in garden in Mermaid Yard, about 45 feet by 35 feet, and let to Captain Booth at a weekly rent amounting to £17 11s. per annum. No. 37 contains two sitting and three bed rooms, washhouse, pantry, and coal-cellar, at present unoccupied, but when let commanding a rent amounting to £9 15s. a year. Also two

cottages adjoining in the rear, one containing living-room (with old oak panellings), pantry, coal-cupboard, cellar, closet, and two bedrooms (one with old oak panellings); and the other containing living-room, washhouse, pantry, coal-cellar, two bedrooms, and two closets. These are both at present unoccupied, but when let the rents amounted to £14 6s. a year, making the full rent of this lot when fully let £41 12s. per annum. This lot has a frontage to Mermaid Street of 50 feet, and a depth of 66 feet, exclusive of the garden. The auctioneers desire to call the special attention of archaeologists and other gentlemen to this very historical house, which was probably erected not later than the fourteenth century. For a great number of years it was the principal hostelry of the town, having ceased as an inn since about 1760. A token bearing the sign of the 'Mermaide Inn,' and the stables and the yard on the reverse, was struck about 1650. Jeake, Holloway, and other historians all draw attention to this house in their works, and especially to the carved oak panelling, which, according to the Sussex Archaeological Society's Works (vol. xxxix), is of the Tudor period, and this, with the Tudor mantelpiece and genuine old Dutch tiling, would, if removed, be of very considerable value. Apart from this the property is worthy the attention of private investors, as with very little trouble the fine old kitchen could readily be adapted into an artist's studio, or similar apartment, possessing as it does a good northern light."



We have not learnt the result of the auction, but we earnestly hope that the building will be preserved as a whole, and that no such vandalism as that suggested by the auctioneer for the removal of any of the fittings of the house, will be permitted.



We regret to learn that it has been found, on close examination, that the Parthenon at Athens has received most serious injury from the earthquakes which occurred in Greece last spring. After the earthquakes (for it will be remembered there were several) a committee was appointed to make an investigation into the condition of the Parthenon. On careful examination the committee dis-

covered that the building had been most seriously injured, and that consequently there is great danger in allowing it to remain in its present condition. The committee, therefore, in issuing their report, recommended that immediate steps should be taken to strengthen the Parthenon. The Archaeological Society of Athens, at a meeting recently called to consider the report of the committee, voted an unlimited sum for the purpose of strengthening the building in every possible manner.



During the excavation of the site for a repairing slip, now in course of construction near the mouth of the river Blackwater, on Lough Neagh, Ireland, the workmen came upon an ancient boat, which was found embedded under 5 feet of dense black bog. The boat is 23 feet in length, and 4 feet in width, and tapers to 2 feet 9 inches at each end. It has been formed out of a piece of solid oak, the foot-rests for the oarsmen and the grooves for the oars being all left in the solid material. The boat is not of the ordinary canoe type, like several others which have been found at Lough Neagh. It seems to belong to a very remote date, and, we are glad to learn, that the Navigation Board are anxious that it should be placed in one of the national museums. Remains of one pair of oars were also found in the boat, but in a very decayed condition.



Several of the newspapers have mentioned that Dr. Kennion, the recently-appointed Bishop of Bath and Wells, was enthroned in Wells Cathedral before having done homage to the Queen on his translation, and that this was so by special favour of her Majesty the Queen. Such an item of ecclesiastical news would not be recorded here, were it not that it appears to be the first occasion for many centuries that an English bishop has been enthroned prior to doing homage to the Sovereign. We are open to correction, but we believe it would be necessary to go back to the days of the Plantagenet kings to discover another instance of such an event. This being so, it seems not unfitting to notice the occurrence in the *Antiquary*. We shall, of course,

be glad to hear if we are wrongly informed in this matter.



Many wonderful things, no doubt, have been done in the present day in the matter of church "restoration"; but we doubt whether anything can be found to equal the following, which we quote from a local newspaper, describing the reopening of a church in Wales after its recent "restoration":

"The restoration which has been carried out has completely altered the appearance of the church. The dark stain on the pews, and the huge structure serving as a reading-desk, which bestrode half the church, gave it a gloomy, heavy, and disproportionate appearance. The pews and all the woodwork have now been painted in light emerald green, lined with gold, and a new reading-desk is small and light. The walls have been coloured salmon-pink by three coatings of calcarium, while the rafters and couples of the roof have been treated with boiled oil, and the spaces between whitewashed. A dado, painted in oil of maroon colour, surmounted with a pretty design, runs all round the church, rising about 2 feet above the tops of the pews. . . . The general effect is very pleasing."



Whether the effect is so "very pleasing" we take leave to doubt; but it is satisfactory to learn that at the opening services "the singing was unusually good and hearty, and the performance of the anthem on Wednesday evening was pronounced by competent judges to be excellent for the precision and sweetness of the rendering." With pews of emerald green, lined with gold, and walls of salmon-pink, what else could it be? But to be serious. Is no restraint ever to be placed on the vagaries of the church "restorer"? In this case little actual harm seems to have been done to the fabric; but that was merely an accidental piece of good-luck. In no other civilized country but our own, would ignorant people be allowed to tinker venerable and historical buildings, such as our ancient parish churches, in this wild fashion. There ought to be some means taken for controlling the mischief. We need a competent Censor of Church Restoration.

The announcement of the immediate publication of a new edition, in exact facsimile, of John Ogilby's large Map of the City of London, dated 1677, is likely to interest archaeologists generally, and those of the Metropolis in particular. The facsimile forms part of an extra series of publications by the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, and is edited by the hon. secretary of the society, Mr. C. Welch, F.S.A. John Ogilby, "His Majesty's Cosmographer," states that in his map all the streets, lanes, alleys, courts, yards, churches, halls, and houses are actually surveyed and delineated. The present editor has, we understand, added a comprehensive introduction, giving a biography of John Ogilby and many valuable details respecting the map, as well as a facsimile of the key, thus making the work complete. Ogilby's map was practically the earliest survey of London, all that preceded it (except Hollar's view, which gives details of the bank of the river) being mere bird's-eye views. Nothing like it was attempted till the Ordnance Survey was made in this century; it was drawn at a most interesting period, when the city had lately passed through a crisis, viz., the Great Fire, and was being reconstructed by Sir Christopher Wren with but little departure from the plan of the old city. London of 1677 possessed many buildings dating from the Middle Ages, old landmarks and links with the past which have since been swept away. The city was then confined within narrow limits; green fields and pleasant gardens existed within a few minutes' walk of St. Paul's, and the suburban houses of the nobility lined the Strand.



The key to the map, which is supplied with a copious index, contains much curious and interesting information likely to be useful to antiquaries and historians. It was printed "at the author's house in White Fryers" in 1677, and the only copy known is preserved at the British Museum. In addition to a brief account of London and the then existing institutions of the Metropolis, there is a list of streets, numbered so that they may be easily found on the map. Another table, giving the names of churches, public

buildings, houses (often with the distinguishing sign or the name of occupier) completes the key. The map is printed in twenty folio sheets and enclosed in a portfolio, and the key is reproduced in the exact size of the original, which is small ledger folio. The new edition has been admirably reproduced and ably edited. The printers are Messrs. Blades, East and Blades.



Ignorance, on the part of those who drafted the much-vaunted Parish Councils Act, regarding the topographical divisions in the North of England will have a curious and unexpected result. Some knowledge of archaeology and topography is, it would seem, indispensable, even in these everyday matters. The Act takes effect this month, but in a great part of the North of England—perhaps in the greater part—it will remain a dead letter, owing to the ignorant mistake which has been made. In the north most ancient parishes are composed of a number of small "townships." This seems to have been unknown to the compilers of the Act, who, it is to be presumed, belong to the South, where the "township" is practically unknown. The new Act miscalls all the townships "parishes," thus disintegrating the actual parish into a number of its small component parts, very few of which have a population sufficiently large to entitle them to a parish council under the Act. On the other hand, had the real parishes been dealt with in their entirety, nearly the whole of the ground would have been covered by a network of councils. The practical result of the blunder is well shown by its effect in two unions of the North Riding of Yorkshire—those of Thirsk and Northallerton. In the former union, only eight so-called "parishes" (the actual townships) will be entitled to parish councils, out of a total of forty-two; in Northallerton Union only seven, out of a total of forty-three. Much the same holds good throughout. The *Antiquary* is, of course, in no way concerned with the practical side of the matter; but it is not without interest to note the result of what, if it is not a piece of stupid bungling, must be attributed to a contemptuous desire to aim a blow at the

old divisions of the country, because, forsooth, the ancient parish was ecclesiastical, rather than secular, in its origin.



A correspondent complains in a local paper that St. Oswald's Well at Oswestry has been disfigured by being boxed up in shabby brown boards, and converted into an ordinary pump, the sculptured figure (of St. Oswald?) being hidden. He also complains that the base of an ancient cross at Oswestry has been filled with cement, and changed into a meaningless boulder.



The Rev. J. N. Dalton, C.B., F.S.A., one of the Canons of Windsor, is at present engaged in editing the statutes of that church for the Dean and Chapter. The foundation of the Royal Free Chapel of St. George and St. Edward at Windsor originally consisted of thirteen canons (now reduced to five), one of whom was and is dean or warden, two of the others being precentor and treasurer respectively; thirteen (now reduced to four) priest-vicars, or minor canons; four (now increased to twelve) clerks; six (now increased to twenty-four) choristers; and twenty-six (now reduced to eighteen) poor knights. This college of canons, priests, clerks, and poor knights has statutes given by William de Edington, Bishop of Winchester (under license of Clement VI., dated at Avignon, November 30, 1350), with the assent of Robert Wyvill, Bishop of Salisbury, and the chapter of that church, Windsor being then within that diocese. The statutes consist of fifty-four chapters, and, it need scarcely be pointed out, contain a great deal of exceedingly interesting and curious matter, owing to the unique character of the regal foundation with which they deal.



Mr. J. Willis Clark, F.S.A., the Registry of the University of Cambridge, announces a discovery in Jesus Lane in that town. He says: "As the workmen were digging the foundations of the new meeting-house for the Society of Friends, at the corner of Jesus Lane and Park Street, they came upon an arched passage, formed by blocks of dressed stone, regularly built and carefully finished.

On descending into it, it was found to be 6 feet high by 4 feet 6 inches wide. Some of the blocks of stone of which it is built are 3 feet long by about 10 inches high, others rather smaller. This passage has a southeasterly direction, with a length of 32 feet. At the farthest end it has once been closed by a door, or blocked by planking, as is proved by the remains of a stout post still to be seen on each side.



"Beyond this point the passage is prolonged, but its character is wholly different. It there becomes an ordinary brick drain, 4 feet high by 2 feet wide. The direction of this drain appears to be the same as that of the broader portion. It was explored for about 100 yards by one of the workmen, and measured by him with an 8-foot rod. At the furthest point he reached he heard the noise of vehicles above his head, which he very naturally concluded to be passing through Hobson Street or King Street, probably.



"What was the destination of these passages? There can be no doubt that the portion underlying Jesus Lane was built as a bridge to carry the roadway over the watercourse called the King's Ditch, because constructed by King Henry III. in 1268. We may, I think, refer this bridge to a tolerably early date, probably soon after the digging of the ditch, because it is not probable that the townspeople would have allowed the traffic to have been impeded for any length of time by such an obstacle. What we call Jesus Lane must have been quite as important a thoroughfare in those days as it is at present, because it led to the great monastery at Barnwell, and to Stourbridge Fair, one of the most important marts of the Middle Ages. The earliest plan of Cambridge, that by Richard Lyne, dated 1574, shows the water of the King's Ditch passing under a bridge in this very place. In process of time, when the ditch had dried up, or been diverted somewhat from its original channel, the vault was used, I conjecture, as a cellar, and the southern end of it was blocked up by some woodwork, fragments of which still remain. The length, 32 feet, corresponds exactly with the breadth of Jesus Lane.



"The original use of the second passage or drain is not so readily determined. Its direction, however, across the garden of Sidney Sussex College, and nearly coinciding with that of the King's Ditch, seems to me to indicate that it was possibly used to convey fresh water into the ditch—perhaps an overflow from Hobson's Conduit. If this view be correct, it is possible that the wooden posts above mentioned may be the remains of a sluice, used to regulate the supply of water into the ditch. It would be desirable to trace this drain with greater accuracy than has been hitherto possible. Such discoveries as these may not be very important in themselves, but, taken one with another, they help us to understand the ancient topography of our town."



We quote the following paragraph from a recent number of a Church newspaper, and we think the indignation of a good many people will be pretty sternly roused by it: "An interesting relic has just been handed over to the authorities of St. Paul's Church, Worthing. The Bishop of Chichester, it will be within the knowledge of Church-people, has presented the cathedral with a new font in memory of his wife, with the result that there was placed at the disposal of the dean and chapter the font which has been used in the cathedral since, it is calculated, the fifteenth century. The font is a solid block of old Purbeck marble, and the old pedestal which came with it from Chichester has been re-carved to bear the basin in the Worthing church, to which the dean and chapter have presented the font. The total height of the font is perhaps 5 feet, and the diameter about 4 feet. A brass plate is, archaeologists will be glad to hear, to be affixed to the wall near the font, setting forth the circumstances of the gift." No one, of course, can object to the aged bishop giving a font to his cathedral church as a memorial of his wife, but that the dean and chapter should, thereupon, proceed to turn out the ancient font which has stood for generations in the cathedral is past understanding, and they need a very thorough castigation for this act of vandalism. Antiquaries will note with disgust, too, that the

"old pedestal" which came with the font from Chichester "has been re-carved to bear the basin in the Worthing church." The chapter of Chichester Cathedral is a secular chapter, consisting of a considerable number of dignitaries, canons and other officers. We do not suppose, however, that the greater chapter of the church is to blame in this case. It has, no doubt, been the act of the dean and four residentiary canons (or the major part of them). The names of these gentlemen appear to be: the Very Rev. R. W. Randall (Dean), Bishop Tufnell, Archdeacon Mount, and the Revs. J. S. Teulon and Dr. R. E. Sanderson (Residentiaries). We hope they will be made to understand that acts of this kind cannot be perpetrated with impunity at the present day. The only cure for this sort of thing will be to take cathedrals out of the hands of their present custodians, who set so light a value on them, and the objects they contain. On many grounds we should regret such a change, but we are being rapidly driven to it by the frequency of such acts of vandalism, as that recently perpetrated at Chichester, the destructive "restorations" at Lichfield and Rochester, and similar mischief elsewhere.



Further excavations recently made on the site of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery on the top of High Down Hill, near Worthing, have yielded some interesting results. The ground has been trenched under the direction of Mr. C. H. Read, of the British Museum, who regards it as the largest and most important Saxon cemetery yet found in Sussex. Many interments have been traced. The most notable discovery has been that of a collection of glass vessels, which vie with those of the same period now preserved in the British Museum. One of these is shaped like a tall wineglass without a stem, and ornamented with loops of thick white glass. Another is a vase of slender shape, with raised figures and some Greek characters upon it. In one grave fifty or sixty small beads were found. In another grave, in which part of a child's skull was recovered, were found several glass beads and some thin discs of bronze, decorated with a pattern composed of dots, and perforated, as well as a thick ring of bone or

ivory, which, it is conjectured, might have been a plaything, or possibly a teething ring. Most of the bodies, but not all, were buried from west to east.



An interesting historical relic has been dug up at Forbach, in Alsace, where there was a Roman fort. The relic is a portable Gallo-Roman sundial of delicate workmanship and ingenious contrivance. The dial is 44 millimetres in diameter. The mechanism consists of a flattened tube suspended by a small chain, and with a conical opening that was to have faced towards the sun. Fastened to the bottom of this opening, and movable, was a hand, or needle, which could be adjusted according to the season to correspond with the inclination of the solar rays. This instrument also marked the latitude.



Two instances have lately come under our notice, in which persons who certainly are not Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries, have placed the initials F.S.A. after their names. The trouble is one which is constantly recurring, and there seems no remedy for it. One of the instances we refer to, is that of a lady vocalist, who appends the mystic letters to her name. It has been suggested to us that, perhaps, the best plan would be for real F.S.A.'s to drop the use of the initials, and in those cases where they wish it to appear that they are Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries of London, to write themselves such in full. There would then be no mistake in the matter. The use of initials after a name is of comparatively modern invention, and is not always, in itself, exactly a sign of strength. Only a short time ago we came across a book, printed at the end of the seventeenth century, in which the author was described on the title-page as: "Batchelor of Divinitie and Chanter of the Church of Sarum." The modern equivalent to this would be "B.D., Precentor of Salisbury Cathedral." We leave our readers to say which looks best. There can, indeed, be but one opinion as to it. So, too, in the case of the letters F.S.A., the full form looks far better, besides being decisive in its meaning. In this, as in so many other matters,

the older seems, perhaps, the better way. Anyhow we commend the suggestion to those concerned.



Under the title of "Four Churches in the Deanery of Buckrose," Mr. James Bayly, architect, of Weaverthorpe, near York, has prepared a volume dealing with the churches of St. Andrew, Weaverthorpe, St. Peter, Helperthorpe, St. Mary, Luttons Ambo, and St. Andrew, Kirby Grindalythe. The book is illustrated with seventeen full-page exterior and interior views, four plans, and twenty detail drawings of sundials, inscriptions round bells, monumental crosses, etc. A limited number of copies have been printed, and can only be obtained from the author.



The world moves so fast nowadays that a thing only as of yesterday, soon begins to wear an ancient aspect. In this respect, we feel that we need make no apology for briefly mentioning a fact, which has just come to our own knowledge, namely, that the old Yorkshire fishing village of Redcar (now, perhaps, better known as a favourite seaside resort of the middle classes) possesses the oldest lifeboat in existence. The lifeboat in question lately figured in a "demonstration" which was held on behalf of the National Lifeboat Institution, when it was thus described in the following paragraph, which we have since ascertained to be quite correct in its statements: "*Lifeboat 'Zetland'.*"—This is the oldest lifeboat in existence. It was built, in 1800, by Henry Greathead, of South Shields, and stationed at Redcar in 1802. In 1859 the Royal National Lifeboat Institution took over the station, and in 1864 the *Zetland* was superseded by the *Crossley*. The old lifeboat was condemned, but, by the efforts of the late Earl of Zetland, it was restored to the Redcar fishermen. It has been instrumental in saving upwards of 300 lives, and on November 15, 1854, on the occasion of the wreck of the brig *Jane Erskine*, was the means of saving the crew (nine), and twenty-six Redcar fishermen, carrying, with the seventeen lifeboatmen, no less than fifty-two persons. Its last service was performed on October 28, 1880, when it saved the crew (eight) of the brig *Luna*,

which ran through Redcar Pier, the other lifeboats being on duty at other wrecks." The Marquis of Zetland intends, we are informed, to build a special boathouse at Redcar, in which it is to be preserved.



Before closing up his work on the old A B C Hornbook, Mr. Andrew Tuer, F.S.A., 18, Campden Hill Place Square, London, W., asks to be favoured with notes from those who may remember the hornbook in use, or who may have in their possession examples which he has not yet seen. Information about spurious hornbooks, from the sale of which certain persons are at present said to be reaping a golden harvest, is also sought.



Chancellor Ferguson, writing from Carlisle, kindly calls our attention to a slip on page 45 of the *Antiquary* for August last, where the church of Kirkandrews-on-Eden is referred to. The reference should have been to Kirkandrews-on-Esk. The church of Kirkandrews-on-Eden was destroyed, the Chancellor informs us, two or three centuries ago, "and not a stone is now standing."



## The Punishment of Pressing to Death.

By J. LEWIS ANDRÉ, F.S.A.

**F**ELONY in the earlier part of the eighteenth century included a large number of offences, varying much in kind and gravity. By the common law it comprised those against the life and goods of a man, and by statute such miscellaneous breaches of the law as using the King's arms and armour, "defacing clothes or garments in the streets," being an Egyptian "remaining two months," receiving or maintaining a Jesuit knowingly, forging lottery tickets, bigamy, etc. Witchcraft also was felony. The invocation or conjuration of evil spirits, consulting, entertaining, or employing them, and the taking up of a dead person to be employed, "though

not actually used," in charms or witchcraft, were each and all of them felonious. Now, it sometimes happened, though it is true but rarely, that a person "arraigned for felony" refused to plead either guilty or not guilty, and in such a case standing mute, by the interpretation of the law, he was condemned to an especial punishment called *peine forte et dure* in legal parlance, and vulgarly *pressing to death*. The origin of this atrocious punishment, Knight says, is considered by some to have arisen from a statute of 3 Edward I. (1274), chap. xii., which he cites as follows: "That notorious felons, and which openly be of evil name, and will not put themselves on inquests of felonies that men shall charge them with before the justice at the King's suit, shall have strong and hard imprisonment (*prison forte et dure*), as they which refuse to stand to the common law of the land; but it is not to be understood of such prisoners as be taken of light suspicion" (Knight's *History of England*, vol. i., p. 814). The punishment thus enacted is supposed to have been that the condemned person was to be stripped nearly naked and fastened down with irons in prison; he was also to be fed with coarse bread on one day, and the next day have water to drink, but no bread, eating and drinking thus on alternate days. It will be noticed that no mention is made of the terrible pressing, which afterwards formed the chief feature in the punishment, and the sufferer appears to have been condemned to die of close confinement and slow starvation only. That this was the case nearly one hundred years after the enactment of the statute of Edward I., above referred to is proved by the case of Mistress Cecily Rydgeway in 1358-9. This woman was accused of the murder of her husband, and, refusing to plead, was sentenced to be kept in close custody for the space of forty days without food, a penalty she suffered, and being found alive at its termination, was pardoned by the King (Edward III.), as the endurance of such a long-continued fast was deemed miraculous. This story, however incredible in itself, shows that in the middle of the fourteenth century starvation, and not pressing to death, was the penalty enacted for a refusal to plead.

In Tudor times and subsequently we find that pressing was undoubtedly the method of causing death, and Machyn in his Diary relates, under date 1557, the trial of Lord Stourton as follows: "The xxvi day of Feybruary was rayned at Westmynster halle my lord Stourton, and for the juges and dyvers of the consell, as lord justes Broke, and the lord stuard, and my lord tresorer, and dyvers odur lordes and knyghtes; and long it wher or he wold answer, and so at last my lord justes stod up and declaryd to my lord and he wold nott answer to the artyculles that was led to hym, that he shuld be prast to deth by the lawe of the rayme; and after he dyd answer, and so he was cast by ys owne wordes to be hangyd, and ys iiij men" (ed. Camden Soc., p. 127). The same writer records Lord Stourton's death by hanging at Salisbury on March 6, 1557.

Cruel at it was, the punishment *peine forte et dure* was not confined to men only, and in 1586, or perhaps 1585—for, says Dr. Challoner, authors are divided about the time—Mrs. Margaret Clithero was executed in this barbarous manner. According to the above writer, she was of a good family in Yorkshire, and "was persecuted under that violent persecution raised in those times by the Earl of Huntingdon, Lord President of the North. The crime she was charged with was relieving and harbouring priests. She refused to plead, that she might not bring others into danger by her conviction, or be accessory to the jurymen's sins in condemning the innocent. And therefore, as the law appoints in such cases, she was pressed to death. She bore this cruel torment with invincible patience, often repeating on the way to execution that 'this way to heaven was as short as any other'" (Challoner, *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*, vol. i., p. 203). On account of her heroic conduct this lady has been declared Venerable in the Roman Catholic Church by a recent decree.

It is remarkable that the chief sufferers by the most cruel forms of death appear to have been women. In 1531 a maid was boiled to death at King's Lynn for poisoning her mistress, and in 1541 Margaret Davie suffered in a similar manner at Smithfield, London, for poisoning "divers honest

persons" in the city. The last persons burnt alive in the United Kingdom were women. Elizabeth Gaunt, condemned for treason, perished thus at Tyburn in 1685. In 1722 Elizabeth Elson was burnt at Lincoln; in 1731 Mary Taylor "was burnt to ashes" at King's Lynn, whilst in the same year another woman, Mary Joan Condon, "was sentenced to be burnt alive" at Cork. Finally, Mary Johnson was burnt at Lincoln in 1747. It is true that in the last-mentioned form of cruelty the victim was generally first strangled at the stake, but it cannot be said that any undue leniency was shown to the weaker sex in former times.

Returning to the immediate subject of these remarks, we find that in 1605 one Walter Calverley, of Calverley in Yorkshire, was arraigned for murder, and standing mute at his trial, was killed by the pressure of a large iron weight placed on his breast.

At Colchester, Mr. Cutts says, "the Sessions Rolls record that 14th of Charles I. (1638) one John Davis refused to plead, and was pressed to death according to the statute" (Cutts' *Colchester*, p. 151). In 1657 Major Strangeway suffered death in a similar way at Newgate for the murder of his brother-in-law.

The last occasion of the infliction of this punishment appears to have been at Horsham, in Sussex, A.D. 1735, when it was executed on a man who pretended to be dumb, although four or five persons swore that they had heard him speak. He was brought to the bar on August 4, but continuing mute, was carried back to the gaol in the town; here weights were laid upon him to the amount of four hundred pounds, and finally the executioner laid himself on the board which was over him, and so killed him. He suffered on August 11, 1735, after a custody of twelve weeks, his crime being the murder of Elizabeth Symonds at Bognor. His name appears never to have been ascertained.

By the statute of 12 George III. (1771), chap. xx., the penalty *peine forte et dure* was abolished, as it enacted "that every prisoner who, being arraigned for felony, should stand mute or not answer to the offence directly, should be convicted of the same, and the same judgment and execution there-



upon awarded as if he had been convicted by verdict or confession of the crime." Haydn's *Dictionary of Dates* says that a man refusing to plead was condemned and executed at the Old Bailey on a charge of murder, 1778, and another on a charge of burglary at Wells, 1792. The same work informs us that in 1827 there was "an Act passed by which the Court is directed to enter a plea of not guilty when the prisoner will not plead." Thus we see that in the eighteenth century a man was considered as pleading *guilty*, and in the nineteenth as *not guilty*, if he remained mute.

I am unaware that the particular form of cruelty of pressing to death has been employed abroad, except in America, where it was introduced in Massachusetts during the seventeenth century, when an old man of eighty, named Cory, a stout-hearted fellow, refused to plead either guilty or not guilty on a charge of witchcraft, and was pressed to death according to the law of the mother country. "On this horrible occasion," remarks Sir Walter Scott, "a circumstance took place disgusting to humanity, which must yet be told to show how superstition can steel the heart of a man against the misery of his fellow-creature. The dying man, in the mortal agony, thrust out his tongue, which the Sheriff crammed with his cane back again into his mouth" (*Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft*, p. 279).

The sentence of *peine forte et dure* was administered during the earlier part of the last century in the following manner: After the verdict had been pronounced, the victim was given a few hours' respite in order to fully consider the terrible nature of the penalty which awaited him; he was then sent back to the prison whence he came, and laid in a low dark dungeon, stripped almost entirely naked, and placed face upwards on the floor, "without litter or rushes," his arms and legs being then extended and fastened by cords to the four corners of the cell; then there was laid upon his body "iron or stone, as much as he may bear, or more," and the following day he had "three morsels of barley bread without drink," and the second day he was allowed to drink three times of the water "next unto the prison, except it be running water," and this was to

be his diet until he died. Knight says that sometimes a sharp stone or piece of timber was "by way of favour," laid under his back to accelerate the extinction of life. Some features in the above description bear a strong resemblance to a species of torture mentioned by Lacroix in his *Manners, Customs, etc., of the Middle Ages*, in the ghastly and frightful chapter headed "Pénalité." He there says: "In the *question extraordinaire*, formerly much used in Italy under the name of the watch (*veglia*), they extended the body of the accused by the help of cords attached to each of the four members of the body, which corresponded to four panels fastened to the wall, only giving him for support the point of a diamond-shaped stake."

Something like "the question" appears to have been occasionally used in England, for Knight speaks of a preliminary or warning process of tying the thumbs together with whiplcord, which appears to have been introduced in later times from motives of humanity, without any statutory sanction. "A prisoner was forced to plead at the Old Bailey, by tying his thumbs together, in the year 1734" (*History of England*, vol. i., p. 815). The above author does not say whether the prisoner was hung up by his thumbs, a cruelty inflicted on a culprit in the United States Army, who in July, 1892, was thus suspended for half an hour, a surgeon meanwhile keeping watch on his pulse and heart.

A kind of pressing, applied by way of "the question," was sometimes used in Scotland to extort confessions from witches, and Sir Walter Scott records two cases in which it was so employed in 1613, the sufferers being Margaret Barclay and Isobel Crawford. This torture consisted in placing the victim in the stocks, and then heaping up iron bars on the bare shins. Of Isobel Crawford it is said that "she did admirably, without any din or exclamation, suffer above thirty stone of iron to be laid on her legs," but whilst the bars were being moved "to another part of her shins," her constancy gave way. The same author mentions that in 1704 a poor witch, after most brutal treatment from a mob, ended her miserable existence by having a door thrown over her as she lay exhausted, and stones heaped upon it until

she was pressed to death (Scott, *Letters*, etc., p. 335).

The number of persons who at various times have refused to plead has been a small one, and the chief reason for their so acting has arisen from the fact that, if they pleaded either guilty or not guilty of the offence laid to their charge, they would, if found guilty, forfeit their goods for their felony, whilst by remaining mute and resolutely suffering death, their substance devolved upon their children or heirs. This was always the case, except when the accused was on his trial for high-treason, and then if he refused to plead, and died under the pressure, his estate was forfeited to the King. Forfeiture of goods was proposed to be abolished as early as 1789 in the French Assembly, but the proposal fell through. In England the penalty was repealed by an Act passed July 4, 1870. Besides the reason just given, it has already been shown that, as regards Mrs. Clithero, her refusal to plead was based upon her conviction that by so doing she would injure the innocent.

Although in most countries during the eighteenth century Christian burial was denied to malefactors, it was not so refused in England, except to persons convicted of high-treason and suicides, therefore those executed for refusing to plead were buried in consecrated ground; but, it appears, with little ceremony, if we may judge by the treatment received by the last recorded sufferer of the punishment of the *peine forte et dure* in 1735, as in this case the body of the victim was placed upon a wheelbarrow and driven by the executioner to the churchyard of the parish church for interment (see *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. xix., p. 124).

The author of *A New Present State of England*, published in 1750 by R. Baldwin at the Rose in Paternoster Row, complacently observes that "The punishments which are usually inflicted on *Malefactors* of all Kinds are much more humane in *England* than in any other Part of the whole habitable World," and the writer probably spoke with perfect truth, for in spite of the cruelty of the punishment above described, the general spirit of the English nation was against the infliction of torture even in the eighteenth century.

## Staves of Office.



WE have been favoured with the sight of some pages of an illustrated work, which is about to be published on the important subject of staves, and by the kindness of the authors we are allowed to make a few notes, as well as to borrow some illustrations from the work referred to. The subject of official staves is an important one, and it appears to have been strangely overlooked by antiquaries in the past. We are glad, therefore, to learn that it is about to receive at last something like adequate treatment. The work in question deals with the official staves in London, and it will be a surprise to many persons to learn what a large number of these there are, many being both curious and interesting, and not a few possessing considerable artistic merit. It certainly seems strange, that while maces and municipal insignia have been of late so much before the public, nobody seems to have thought of inquiring into their very near relatives, in a humbler sphere—parochial, and other staves of office.

A very large number of London parishes and churches possess such staves, and in addition to these, not a few are found belonging to various official bodies, such as the Inns of Court, while in more than one case, at least, very interesting staves are the property of some of the London work-houses, of all unlikely places in the world. If the inquiry were extended to other parts of the country, we have little doubt that a very much larger number of official staves would be found to be in existence, and now that the ground is about to be broken in this matter, local enterprise will no doubt speedily unearth many more of these interesting objects up and down the land.

In the parish in which the writer lives, there happens to be a very handsome example, belonging to a hospital founded in the reign of Charles II., by a Lord Mayor of London. The staff is formed of a long, tall cane, surmounted by a massive silver knob, on the top of which is a well-executed lion in silver, the left paw holding

a *fer de moulins*, the device forming the crest of the founder.

As regards existing parochial staves in London, it seems quite clear that they originally belonged to two classes, although these are now very much confused. It requires little observation to note that several of these staves are ecclesiastical in origin, and comparable with the crosier of the bishop or abbot, while others are undoubtedly secular, and are more immediately akin to the mace of the civic officer, which in its turn may be found to be allied to the sceptre of the sovereign.

This distinction in the character of the London parochial maces is well illustrated by those belonging to St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, illustrations of which we are kindly permitted to use.

In the case of the staff belonging to the churchwardens we manifestly have a staff of an ecclesiastical character, which may very well be the lineal descendant of a staff, which figured in the pre-Reformation ritual of the mediæval church of St. Martin. This staff, the head of which is of metal-gilt, has on the top of the flattened platform of the knop, the figure of the soldier saint, St. Martin of Tours, bestowing his cloak upon the poor beggar at the gate of Amiens. The staff bears round the upper rim the names of the churchwardens, with the date 1775, which is no doubt its actual date of manufacture. This staff, which is so distinctly ecclesiastical in character, may be compared with any of the mediæval choral rectors' staves to be seen in many museums on the Continent. It would almost look as if, when the ritual of the services no longer called for the presence of the "*rectores chori*," that their staves, in some instances at least, had been appropriated to the use of the churchwardens. Of this ecclesiastical type, some fine mediæval staves remain in use in the Scotch Universities, but we are not aware of the existence of any English pre-Reformation examples.

By way of contrast, and as showing the entire difference of character, the St. Martin's warden's staff may be placed side by side with the parochial staff, also belonging to St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, which is used by

the beadle. This, too, is a very handsome staff, but the knop in this case is formed on the lines of the civic mace, just as the churchwarden's staff follows on ecclesiastical lines.

The knop of the beadle's staff is of silver, and bears on its massive bulb an embossed representation of St. Martin dividing his cloak, the top of the bulb being surmounted, after the fashion of a mace, with a regal crown.

Staves of a more or less ecclesiastical



WARDEN'S STAFF, ST. MARTIN'S-IN-THE-FIELDS.

character exist at several of the London churches, as, for example, at St. Dunstan-in-the-West; St. James, Garlickhithe (with a very curious figure of St. James above a scallop shell); St. Augustine, Watling Street; St. Katherine Cree; St. Ethelburga, Bishopsgate; St. Helen, Bishopsgate; St. Bartholomew the Great, Smithfield; St. John, Clerkenwell; St. Andrew, Holborn, and elsewhere. All of these have handsome figures of the patron saint on the top, and are evidently

descended, in most cases, from distinctly ecclesiastical prototypes. But as a contrast, we find that in other parishes, staves of a purely secular type are in use, as at

of Time, scythe in hand, surmounts the staff. In very many parishes, however, a



BEADLE'S STAFF, ST. MARTIN'S-IN-THE-FIELDS.

St. Botolph, Aldgate, where a swan surmounts the staff, which is that of the officer of the manor of East Smithfield; while, at St. Giles-in-the-Fields a well-designed figure



STAFF, ST. PETER'S, CORNHILL.

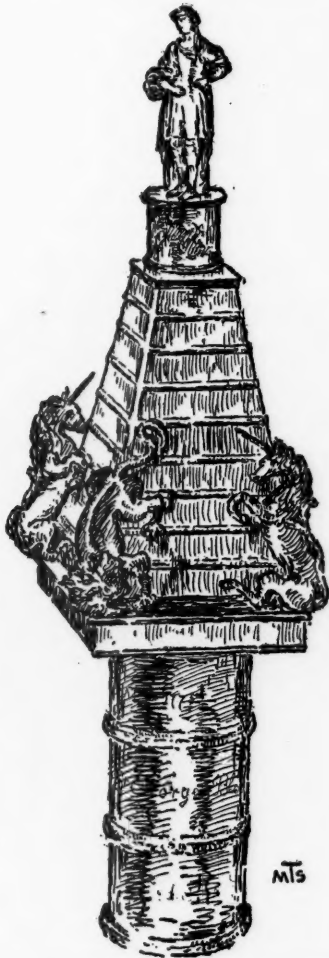
combination or confusion of the secular and ecclesiastical staves may be noted, as at



St. Paul, Covent Garden, where a figure of the Apostle of the Gentiles surmounts a bulbous knop, on which is embossed the royal arms. Something similar is to be seen at St. Margaret, Westminster, where

St. Peter, Cornhill, where the knop is of mace-head form, with a crown, the figure of St. Peter being placed on the top of the crown, on a small flattened platform.

In a few cases staves with nondescript tops, or heads are to be noted. The most interesting, perhaps, of these is the staff of St. George's, Bloomsbury, where the staff-head



STAFF, ST. GEORGE'S, BLOOMSBURY.

the knop bears the arms of the City of Westminster, and a figure of the patron saint in addition is at the top. This combination is even more noticeable in the staff of  
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STAFF OF WORKHOUSE, ST. GILES'S, CRIPPLEGATE.

is formed of a representation, in silver, of the spire of the church, not only with King George on the top, but with the lions and unicorns at the corners, as first erected. Here "on this elegant silver model alone are to be seen the lions and unicorns described by Walpole, their fierce prototypes having been removed from the outside of St. George's some years since, when  
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the stonework became decayed, and consequently in a dangerous condition." At St. Vedast, Foster Lane, is another curious device of a nondescript character. The staff-head represents a device of two clasped hands, with a heart above.

In very nearly all these cases the massive heads of the staves are of silver, or silver-gilt, and bear hall-marks of the year of their manufacture; but we have not gone into these details here, as it would have lengthened these notes too greatly had we done so. At the Middle Temple, the Inner Temple, Lincoln's Inn, Gray's Inn, and other centres of the law there are staves of a similar character, either ecclesiastical or secular. At the workhouse of St. George's, Cripple-gate, there is a fine staff with the figure of a cripple at the top. We might, indeed, go on enumerating many other staves both of beauty, and interest. So far, no existing examples seem more than about a couple of hundred years old; but now that attention is to be drawn to the subject by the forthcoming publication of the work alluded to, we have little or no doubt that earlier examples will be discovered. Perhaps, too, it may even be found that some existing staves are in part older than their dated portions.

A new and interesting field will be opened by the publication of the book, and we end as we began, both by commending the conception of the work, and at the same time recording our gratitude for being permitted to make use of it in preparing these brief notes.



### Visitation of the Diocese of London in 1738 by Bishop Gibson.

By the REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A.

**N**OW and then, even in these last years of the century, the eager book-collector does meet with a prize which consoles him for many failures and disappointments. I do not think that he will be likely to pick a Caxton out of

the miscellaneous contents of a barrow in the Farringdon Road, although in that highly favoured locality he will be able to purchase books at two for a penny, the seller, however, requiring that he shall buy not less than two. Only a few months ago I bought from one of these barrows one volume (there should be two) of an exceedingly scarce Breviary, of which there is no copy in the British Museum, and I have heard of only one other copy, and that is in private hands. But now and then the collector is rewarded, and, as the real, earnest book-lover, takes as his motto the old sundial inscription:

*Horas non numero nisi serenas,*

he is from that hour a happy man. He forgets the long series of failures—books wrongly described, books imperfect just in the very place where he had hoped to discover a perfect sheet to complete another copy, books on which worm or mouse has feasted ravenously, books on which salt water or damp cellar has wrought its wicked will, and all the countless ills that book is heir to. He forgets them all, and, as they pass into oblivion, is a happy man in the proud sense of his new acquisition.

So happy was I in the spring of 1889 when, on one auspicious day, to be marked for ever with a white stone, a few volumes were brought to me for examination, and, if I would, for purchase. I at once recognised their importance, and, not deterred by the mass of the whole collection, comprising about a hundred volumes in folio and quarto, determined to secure it for St. Paul's Cathedral Library. There it rests to-day, in a worthy and appropriate home.

In the *Archæologia*, vol. liii., I have given a full account, accompanied by an admirable facsimile, of one of its chief treasures, a vow made by King Charles I. on April 13, 1646, and signed by himself, together with a transcript of the vow in the handwriting of Archbishop Sheldon. In the same volume was the draft of a letter from Charles to his Queen Henrietta Maria, dated December 3, 1644, the draft and its somewhat numerous corrections in the King's own hand.

Next to this gem of the collection, and of scarcely inferior interest, were the original returns made by the clergy themselves, in the

dioceses of Lincoln and London, over which Bishop Gibson successively presided, to that prelate's Visitation Questions. (Dr. Gibson was Bishop of Lincoln from 1715-16 to 1723; of London from 1723 to 1748.) Many of these papers were already collected into volumes; the remainder have been arranged and bound under my own superintendence. Here follows a brief summary of these Visitation Returns:

LINCOLN. 1717. Three volumes.

1718. Five volumes.

1720. Three volumes.

1721. Five volumes.

LONDON. 1723. Two volumes.

1727. One volume.

1736. Curates' stipends, etc.: two volumes.

1738. Three volumes.

1741-42. Four volumes.

1747. Three volumes.

Thirty-one volumes in all. As these volumes are, so far as I know, quite unexplored, it may be well to give some little account of one set of Visitation Returns. They cast a good deal of light upon the state of the Church in the outlying parts of the Diocese of London in the first half of the eighteenth century, and as each document is the actual return sent by the rector or vicar to his bishop, its evidence is as good as it is possible to obtain.

The notes which follow relate to the Diocese of London, and the Visitation is that of 1738, with which I have incorporated some important matter drawn from the inquiry into curates' stipends, and kindred subjects, made two years previously.

On September 10, 1736, Bishop Gibson issued from Fulham a circular letter to his clergy, commencing thus:

"GOOD SIR,

"Some Motions which were made in Parliament the last Session, and the Probability of their being resumed in the next, make it proper for me to procure the most exact Information I can upon the following Heads, of Non-resident, Plurality, and Salaries of Curates."

The Bishop then sets out a series of questions, and from the returns to these I select the following answers supplied by incumbents:

"I often in summer, and sometimes in winter,

visit there where I do not reside: but cannot say I ever lodge there on account of the air and my imperfect state of health."

"The parish is mightily afflicted with the worst sort of ague." (He cannot reside there himself, but he has a Curate living near.)

"The inhabitants pray that they may not have a resident Curate, being so well satisfied with the non-resident one." (A formal petition this.)

"Preaches at his living four or five times at least, and some years more. I goe twice a year, viz.: about Lady Day and Michaelmas, and stay there about a fortnight at a time,\* some years I go oftener."

"Bad state of health, at first occasioned by the unwholesome air of that fenny country." (But has resident curate.)

"Rector has Episcopal Chapel at Montrose, Scotland."

"Visits parish once a year."

"One reason of my non-residence is the preservation of my and my families health: 'tis notoriously known that Dengy hundred is a very unhealthy place, through the badness of the air, and want of good water."

"It is nothing else but the unhealthiness of the place." (Has a resident curate.)

"I seldom stay long by reason of the badness of the air, and my own ill state of health."

It is obvious to remark that although some of these parishes had a bad reputation for their unhealthiness, yet that curates were able to reside there, and did, in fact, so reside. Nor are we informed that curates had any prophylactic against ague, the fear of which so overwhelmed their chiefs.

Poor fellows! The curates of those days were not overpaid. "Passing rich on forty pounds a year" was no exaggerated phrase. I have tabulated the returns relating to eighty-six curates, who receive a gross sum of £2,778, disregarding fees (which were very small) and residences. The average income actually paid in money to each individual is £32 6s. od.

#### STIPENDS OF CURATES IN 1736.

One £80.

One £70.

Three £60.

Two £50.

One £50, together with all such perquisites of rings, scarves, etc., as are given at funerals. (St. Leonard, Shoreditch.)

Two £45, with fees.

One £45.

One £42, with fees.

Five £40, with fees.

\* Had these visits anything to do with the tithe payments?

Fourteen £40.  
 One £36, with residence and fees.  
 One £36.  
 One £35, with residence and fees.  
 One £35.  
 One £34. Curate has, besides, a Vicarage of £40.  
 One £31, with fees.  
 Nine £30, with fees. In one case this payment is said to be more than two-thirds the yearly value of the living.  
 One £30, with residence.  
 One £30. Has a living also.  
 Five £30.  
 One £28, with fees. Value of living, £130.  
 One £26, and his board.  
 One £26.  
 Three £25, with fees.  
 Two £25.  
 One £24.  
 One £23, with fees. Has another Curacy. Value of living, £50.  
 One £23, with residence. Has another Curacy.  
 Four £20, with fees.  
 One £20. Has another Curacy of equal value.  
 One £20, with residence and fees.  
 Eight £20. In four of these cases the livings are worth £40.  
 One £20, and his board, which I value at £20 a year more, and so does he.  
 One £21. Has a Rectory besides.  
 One £16, with fees. Has another Curacy.  
 One £15. Service once a fortnight.  
 One £14 9s., being half the value of the living.  
 One £12 12s., with fees.  
 One £10. Duty once a fortnight. (Living, £40.)  
 One £10, with fees. (Living, £30. Incumbent has other livings.)

Here are a few notes made by different incumbents:

"The Curates in the hundreds of Essex generally serve two Curacies. They are allowed by each Incumbent £20 a year."

"I pay my Curate £21 per annum, which is more by £6 per annum than was ever given by my predecessor."

"Pays his Curate half a guinea a sermon, and five shillings every time he reads prayers."

"Does not know his Curate's Christian name."

"Pays his Curate half a guinea each Sunday, and surplice fees."

"Eight shillings a Sunday, which is nearly the full value of the living."

"I shall allow him what is very handsome."

There is great suggestiveness in the last note, and the whole subject tempts one to indulge in comments, and in illustrations from contemporary literature as to the position of the curate at this period. The material is plentiful; but in this place it is better to limit what is said to the simple statement of facts.

Let us pass to the Visitation which

followed after the above inquiry. I shall touch only upon three points—the frequency of Divine Service, the number of communions and communicants, and the burning question of non-residence.

In 1738, in the diocese of London, Divine Service was performed in the 145 churches to which the Visitation refers:

	Churches.
Once every Sunday in ... ..	124
Three times a month in ... ..	1
Once a fortnight in ... ..	12
Once a month in ... ..	1
Twice on Sunday in summer and once in winter in ... ..	5
Twice one Sunday and once another in ...	2

There were 161 clergymen holding pluralities.

Here follow extracts from various returns. It will be observed that they relate almost exclusively to rural parishes in the diocese. I do not, for obvious reasons, print the names of the clergy or of their parishes.

"I used to perform service twice, but illness obliged me to once, and I now really find it with the fatigue of journey as much as I can well bear."

"Once every Sunday in my Parish Church. The reason why I do not twice is because 'tis not a sufficient maintenance."

"Because it has scarcely ever been performed oftener, the Parish being very small."

"Almost every Lord's Day in the afternoon. The living very small, but £30 a year, paying land taxes and Visitation fees."

"Every Sunday, not oftener for the smallness of the Benefice. There is no School of any sort in this Parish, and very few children that can read. Has two Donatives."

"Service once every Lord's Day, a few excepted in the winter, according to custom on the account of the smallness of the Parish and the profits thereof." (Incumbent non-resident and a pluralist.)

"Once; the place being so private that few or no persons (as we have often tried) will come only to prayers."

"Once; my living of itself is not a sufficient support for a family."

"Once: as always has been the custom by reason of the smallness of the living."

"Having two Benefices I perform Divine Service every Lord's Day at each."

"Once: there being but about 6 houses in the Parish, and at such distance from the Church that very often they can hardly make a congregation once."

"Once: according to an old custom, and for want of a congregation."

"Once: because I have a cure three miles distant."

"A Donative: has no plate, no sacrament."

"Once: as it has been ye usual custom heretofore."

"Twice, when any will attend: which is hardly



to be obtained in the summer, in the winter not at all by reason of their distance from the Church."

"For the time to come will be performed twice."

"But every other Sunday, the smallness of the living not admitting of more frequent duty." (He was also Lecturer at a City Church.)

"Once: the reason is the Curate is likewise Curate elsewhere."

"Once: because I have another Church."

It is to be remembered that many of these livings were of exceedingly small value, and in the little Essex villages there could have been no fees of importance. The incumbents, as well as the curates, were wretchedly underpaid.

In 1738, in the diocese of London, the Holy Communion was administered in the year

	Parishes.
14 or 15 times in ...	1
12 " " " " " "	36
10 " " " " " "	1
8 " " " " " "	11
7 " " " " " "	6
6 " " " " " "	6
5 " " " " " "	2
4 " " " " " "	117
3 " " " " " "	111
Not at all in ...	6

This table, it will be seen, comprises 297 parishes.

The following returns relate to Holy Communion:

"At Christmas, Easter, and a little after harvest, people not caring to come at Whitsuntide, it being so near Easter."

"Every fifth Sunday in the month."

"It used to be administered three times in the year, but there are no communicants offer themselves of late."

"I could never bring any to receive the Sacrament till last Easter, when two only received, and one has left the parish since." (There were but twenty-five persons in all in the parish.)

"On the great festivals when we can find a sufficient number."

"No communicants."

"Three or four times a year, but the Inhabitants desire it monthly, which shall be complied with whenever it is in my power."

"Not administered, because there are no Communicants. Service once, and then not a Congregation. Inhabitants few, ten houses, the chief of the families are Dissenters."

"The Sacrament is administered here [Brentwood Chapel, 1723] only upon Good Friday, but the Inhabitants are desirous to have it oftener." (Two hundred families in this parish.)

"At Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, notice is given. As often as I have a Number the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is Administered, w<sup>ch</sup> has been 5 times in 6 year. And I cannot Learn in 40

year before y<sup>t</sup> It ever was Administered." (Thirteen families in the parish.)

"Neither of the Churchwardens ever receive it unless to qualify for a place."

"H. C. no less than three times in the year."

"As far as I could ever learn or know, it has not been administered above once for near these 50 years, and that was on Good Friday, A.D. 1735, by myself."

It must not be forgotten that half a century later Bishop Tomline, being at St. Paul's on Easter Day, 1800, felt it a matter of just complaint that "in that vast and noble Cathedral no more than six persons were found at the Table of the Lord" (Abbey and Overton, *English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, ii. 479.)

The following note is eminently characteristic, and illustrates the Act of Parliament religion, which seems to have achieved a remarkable popularity. How could serious men ever imagine that good could come out of prosecutions and the law courts? And what a fearful sacrilege is the reception of the Blessed Sacrament "to qualify for a place"!

"I fail not frequently to put the Church Wardens in mind of their Oath, and That occasionally in public, as well as in private. Some have had so much regard to my admonitions as to go about the parish and to threaten some offenders with presenting them if they did not reform. But notwithstanding this there is among the meaner sort a prevailing neglect of public worship. . . . I have advised with some at D<sup>rs</sup> Commons about this affair, but by what I can learn Prosecutions for neglects of this nature are uncommon there. But I am in some hopes to remedy this evil in some measure less invidiously by the help of a friendly and conscientious Justice of the Peace, which we have wanted for some time in this Parish." (He adds that he has commonly thirty communicants, and the Holy Communion is celebrated twelve times in the year.)

I conclude this paper, all too short and limited, with a few extracts about non-residence, much more pleasing than most of those which have gone before.

"I constantly reside personally upon my Cure and in my Vicaridge House for 38 years by past and no where else. I have one benefice and no more, and never wou'd accept of an other cure tho' earnestly invited to it by . . . the late Vicar of . . . his Church and mine being within a short distance of one another." (Holy Communion three times in the year.)

\* The odious Test Act, directing all civil and military officers under Government to receive the Sacrament according to the forms of the Church of England, enacted March 29, 1673, was not repealed till May 9, 1828. (Haydn, *Dictionary of Dates*.)

"Service: thrice in every week before a Sacrament." (Holy Communion four times in the year.)

"Thank God, no more than one" [Benefice].

"I serve no other cure, but read prayers and preach constantly in my own Church. I bless God I have a large congregation, and not one Dissenter in my parish."

Even under the energetic rule of Bishop Gibson, six Confirmations seem to have sufficed in his judgment for London and Westminster in the year 1748; for there is amongst the documents in my charge a printed paper entitled:

"The Course and Order of a General Confirmation for the Cities of London and Westminster and the Suburbs thereof, Anno. 1748.

"Edm. London.

"Let this Scheme be set up in every Parish Church and Chapel."

Six Confirmations are announced in this printed paper—four at St. Paul's Cathedral, one at Christ Church, Spitalfields, and one at St. Paul's, Covent Garden. Lists are appended of the parishes which are to send candidates to each of these Confirmations. The services at the cathedral were to be held on April 21 and 28, May 7 and 12; the other functions on April 14 and May 26.



### London Theatres.



HIS volume of the Camden Library\* forms an expansion of a set of articles contributed to our own pages by Mr. Ordish, who takes pardonable pride in recording that his friend and fellow-labourer, Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps, prompted him to cast his previous efforts into a larger and completer shape. The book is a notable performance. The difficulties to be contended with will not be quite known to all of its readers. No one, we are sure, can fail to discern and estimate the zealous pains and generous learning devoted in its pages to what at first sight might be considered an obscure and unyielding topic. For so it is—the authentic materials for a history on this plan by no

\* *Early London Theatres (In the Fields)*, by T. Fairman Ordish, F.S.A. London: Elliot Stock, 1894.

means lie around ready to the hand of him who imagines he need scarcely stoop to pick them up. During a long period the Privy Council and the Corporation waged an official war over the playhouses in London. In that struggle to regulate the place and kind of the citizens' amusement, we detect a germ of the strife between the Cavalier indulgence and the Puritan conscience, beginning some hundred years before the outbreak of the Civil War, when the stage lay under ban altogether.

Yet, despite discountenance, or, as some will deem, aided by opposition, the drama and its representation continued to prosper. The suppression of religious and monastic houses brought about no doubt the decline of miracle plays and mysteries, up to that time so greatly in vogue. But within forty years of that event, which in other directions wrought so signal a change in the outward aspect and in the life of the city, we find a new building erected for the regular performance of plays, and established—a significant fact this—over the site in part of a suppressed priory within the Liberty of Halliwell, by Finsbury Fields. Its name suggests to Mr. Ordish some carefully-considered passages upon the meaning of the word "theatre" as applied to a playhouse. Keeping in view the three facts that the word "amphitheatre" was commonly current at a time when "rings" flourished on Bankside, that Stow, in translating (and, indeed, printing for the first time) the monk Fitz-Stephen's account of London, speaks of "shews upon theaters," and that the word has the further meaning of an exhibition or display, he decides for the opinion, and we think makes good his case, that "theatre" signifies the actual platform or stage—the "boards," in a word. If that be so, we easily apprehend why they named that building The Theatre whilst calling it a *playhouse*; albeit no view of the fabric is extant, and we can only surmise that it was circular, similar to the Curtain and to the house which was made out of its own pieces on Bankside. Thus our first theatre rises by the waters of a holy well, reminding us how the parish clerks had resorted to the founts and springs that gave a variant name to a part of the river Fleet. It stands in the fields, whither

the citizens sallied forth to share in honest sport and exercise. "In the well we have an element around which much of the material which went to the making of the national drama was fostered and perpetuated by tradition, while the priory may represent the element of the miracle play or mystery." Again: "In the fields . . . we have that element of shows, of exhibitions, of 'activities,' feats of skill, legerdemain, and endurance, which alternated with stage-plays in the programme of the earliest playhouses." Alternations in the programme, we may here observe, have again become familiar, though after a more debased and lowering order, to the modern votary of the play, gratifying sheer staring, unreasoning wonder, or pandering to a taste for sordid vulgarity and lubricity.

The Theatre was built of wood in 1576 for James Burbage. An Order in Council decreed the plucking down of playhouses, and though the order was not rigidly enforced, Cuthbert and Richard Burbage, whose lease had expired in 1597, carried the building materials to Bankside, and built therewith the Globe. The priory's position is marked on a reproduction given in the book of a section of Chasserau's survey of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, 1745. Therein, too, we see Curtain Court, recalling The Theatre's contemporary, where *teste* Halliwell-Phillipps, *Romeo and Juliet* was first enacted, and *Every Man in his Humour* introduced to the public through the intercession of Shakespeare.

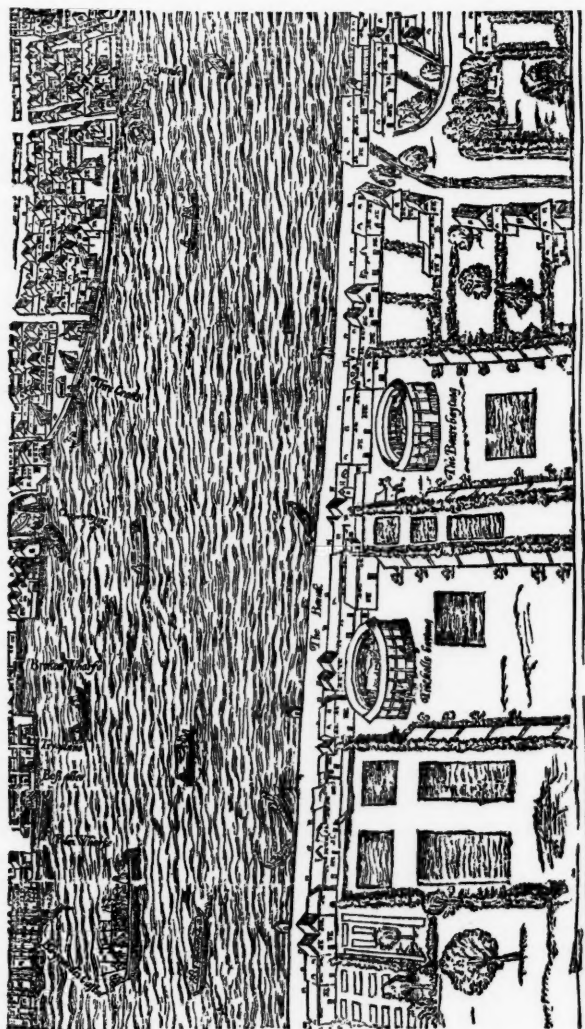
It has been commonly overlooked that the conditions of histrionic composition must have depended upon the means and limits of its representation. Whilst not professing to deal with dramatic literature as a whole, Mr. Ordish is solicitous throughout to exemplify how a study of the theatres and their stage history contributes to elucidate manifold interesting features of our Elizabethan drama. This purpose we take to be the burden and leading motive of his theme. We congratulate him upon the admirable manner in which so novel and enterprising a task is accomplished; and, further, several of the instances which the author adduces evince that the correlation between the play and its stage has a mutual

bearing, the one acting reciprocally, as it were, upon the other.

Let us turn, for example, to the final two chapters upon the Bear-Garden and Hope Theatre, Paris Garden and the Swan. From whom did Shakespeare gain his knowledge of the sea and a seaman's life? He lived for some months on Bankside, near the Bear-Garden; the customary mode of going to and from the Surrey-side was by taking boat at the countless stairs along both sides of the river Thames. Most, if not all, of the watermen, or "scullers," were old sailors and associates of sailors below bridge. It was a waterman, Jacob Meade, who joined Henslowe in his venture at the Hope, quarrelled with the company after Henslowe's death, and was of sufficient account to engage in a protracted dispute with Alleyn in respect of the Bear-Garden leases and Henslowe's personal estate, including bears, bulls, and dogs, "nott by hym bequeathed," as is set forth in Alleyn's autograph statement preserved at Dulwich College. In 1613, after the burning of the Globe, the Company of Watermen petitioned the King "that the players might not be permitted to have a playhouse in London or in Middlesex within 4 miles of the city on that side of the Thames." Taylor, the water-poet, warmly advocated his fellows' cause. He wrote a pamphlet to support their petition, setting forth that the watermen and those dependent on them between Windsor and Gravesend number about forty thousand, and that their "golden stirring" consequent upon the players' settlement on Bankside, with the withdrawal of many of the men to serve in the Spanish wars, had been much reduced by the peace and the departure of the players from Surrey-side. Taylor, be it noted to-day, secured an oracular response from Sir Francis Bacon, that, "so far forth as the public weal was to be regarded before pastimes, or a serviceable, decaying multitude before a handful of particular men, or profit before pleasure, so far was our suit to be preferred before theirs." The agreement for the reconstruction of the Bear-Garden as a game-place or playhouse (the Hope) for Henslowe and Meade, in 1613, stipulates that it shall have a tire-house and a movable stage "in a

frame and placed upon tressels." At the Hope was performed in the following year Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*, its prologue containing many allusions to the new

groundlings of Hamlet's discourse to the players; in the puppet-play Cokes and Lantern are facetious upon the small size of the tiring-house, and the watermen are



SECTION FROM PLAN OF LONDON AND WESTMINSTER, BY RALPH AGAS, 1560.

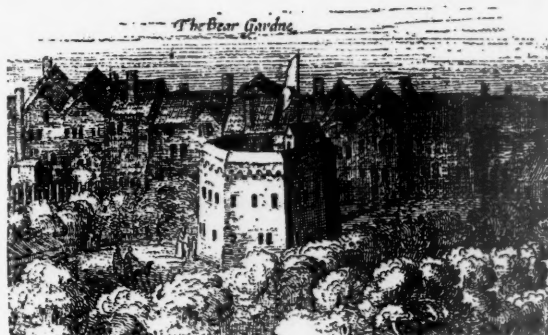
building. In his opening speech the stage-keeper says the poet has kicked him three or four times about the tiring-house. The book-holder, or prompter, refers to the understanding gentlemen o' the ground, the

freely ridiculed. One of the most profitable plays brought out by Henslowe was that of *Henry the Sixth*, which Malone opines is the first part of the play so entitled usually included in Shakespeare's



works. Its first performance, on March 3, 1591, yielded the sum of £3 10s. 8d., and was given by Lord Strange's company at, as Mr. Ordish advances reasons for inferring, the theatre in Newington Butts, and not at the Rose. Peele and Nash, Marlowe and Greene, with other playwrights, wrote for Henslowe. The last-named died in 1592. His singular composition, *Groat's Worth of Wit*, has, as is well known, two unmistakable allusions to Shakespeare. Mr. Ordish discovers therein further reference to the poet in the diatribe against "rude grooms" and "peasants," pointing to his rustic antecedents and (traditionary) first employment in London at the doors of The Theatre, and the Curtain in Shoreditch.

cannot be authoritatively denied. A common belief prevails that those exhibitions continued there, in a circus or amphitheatre, as late as, and for a long time after, the close of the sixteenth century. The point has importance, because certain careless statements of Collier seem to have led subsequent writers astray. If it is the case that there was an amphitheatre of that kind in Paris Garden during the latter half of the sixteenth century, why is none delineated by Agas, or by Hoefnagel (*Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 1572), or in Norden's trustworthy map (1593), which give those in the Clink? In his *History of Dramatic Poetry* Collier avers that in the book of the Earl of Northumberland's household expenses it is said the Earl



THE BEAR-GARDEN AND HOPE THEATRE.

(From *Visscher's View of London*, 1616.)

Perhaps so; but there is this to be said: groom, A.S. *guma*, O.E. *gome*, connoted man, youth, lover, e.g., bridegroom, and had not the limited meaning it bears now.

At the south end of Blackfriars Bridge, between the roadway and the railway station, is a little slip of recreation-ground, which, allowing for its higher altitude, we may regard as the last survival, or rather *imago*, of Old Paris Garden, that lay westward of the Liberty of the Clink. Within the latter district were set up the Rose, the Globe, and the Hope, which replaced the bear-baiting amphitheatres or rings depicted in Ralph Agas's plan of *circa* 1560.

That public exhibitions of bear and bull baiting were formerly held in Paris Garden

went, 17 Henry VIII., to Paris Garden to see the baiting there. "I cannot find this," says Mr. Ordish, "in the Northumberland Household Book." In 1544 the Duke of Nájara came to England as Ambassador from Spain. One of his suite wrote an account of their eight days' sojourn here. They were taken to see the Tower menagerie, and, in high compliment, to see bears baited "on the other side of the town." Collier, we know not why, lays the scene of the sport at Paris Garden. Cunningham (*Handbook of London*, 2nd edition, 1850) indexes "Paris Garden Theatre," describing it—apparently on Collier's authority—as (a)

A circus in the manor of Paris Garden, in Southwark, erected for bull and bear baiting as early as the

17th of Henry VIII., where the Earl of Northumberland is said (in the Household Book of the family) to have gone to Paris Garden to behold the bear-baiting there.

He gives it a long life, adding (b):

It was subsequently leased by Henslowe and Alleyn, and, under their management (when plays were all-popular in the reign of James I.), occasionally converted into a theatre.

In his recent work\* Mr. Wheatley repeats, *s.v.* "Paris Garden Theatre," the two passages we indicate by (a) and (b), inserting between them:

Ralph and Edward Bowes were successively Masters of the Game of Paris Garden in the reign of Elizabeth.

Paris Garden, though he does mention in both accounts the fall of the amphitheatre on Sunday, January 13, 1583, and in one names as "Sackerson" the bear which he calls "Shakerton" in the other.

Crowley's stanzas on bear-baiting, 1550, have a couplet:

At *Paris Garden* each *Sunday* a man shall not fail  
To find two or three hundred [pence] for the Bear-wards vale.

Mr. Wheatley refers to these lines under "Bear Garden," possibly because Crowley makes no specific mention of a public circus or amphitheatre in Paris Garden. The in-



THE SWAN THEATRE.

(From Visscher's *View of London*, 1616.)

The office was subsequently held and the Paris Garden [leased by Henslowe and Alleyn. . . ]

He gives it yet a longer life, saying:

The Bear Garden was closed by the Parliament at the beginning of 1642, and five years later the ground was sold. It was, however, re-opened after the Restoration, and though but partially successful, the performances were continued till 1687, when the bears were sent to Hockley-in-the-Hole, and the doors of Paris Garden Theatre finally closed.

In his article, *s.v.* "Bear Garden, Bankside," Mr. Wheatley says that from a letter of Henslowe to Alleyn this custom continued till James I.'s reign. He clearly treats, as Cunningham does, of a place different from

\* *London, Past and Present*, by Henry B. Wheatley, F.S.A., based upon the *Handbook of London*, by the late Peter Cunningham. In 3 vols. 1891.

vective, however, is aimed at fools who spend their money on Sunday in bear-baiting, and not merely in visiting the King's bears kept in Paris Garden.

The possibility remains that Paris Garden became a popular name with pleasure-seekers for the part of Southwark which includes the Clink, just as at this day "going to the Park" means hiring a chair in Rotten Row. The King's bear-ward was an officer of the royal household, with headquarters in Paris Garden, where the animals lived on the offal first carried thither ("juxta domum Roberti de Parys") by the city butchers in pursuance of Richard II.'s proclamation, cited by Malone. In course of time the office became one of privilege held

by patent. In June, 1573, Elizabeth grants letters patent to Ralph Bowes as master of "our games, pastymes and sports, that is to saie, of all everie our beares, bulles and mastive dogges" in succession to Vaughan and Sir Richard Longe deceased. Bowes leased the Bear-house, in the Clink, to Morgan Pope in 1585. Bowes's patent passed to Dorington, whose bear-keeper was Jacob Meade, mentioned above. Henslowe and Alleyn, who had succeeded Meade as keepers under Dorington, eventually secured the patent. They then rebuilt the Bear-garden, or Hope, as depicted in the drawing after Visscher's "View" of London, 1616. So then, weighing these with other considerations, we think Mr. Ordish justly maintains that, after the extension of the civic jurisdiction over the borough of Southwark in 1550, the bull-baiting in the High Street, and the public bear-baiting in Paris Garden proper, were transferred to where they could evade interference, in the Liberty of the Clink, being held at the amphitheatres shown in the maps. Three illustrations we are enabled, by the publisher's courtesy, to reproduce in this journal. They who know the ground will follow, and follow with delight, the author's perambulation of the several sites. As it might puzzle those who are less familiar with the places to be seen, we hope a modern map will be included in his complementary volume upon the Globe and the remaining theatres within the town.



## English Glass-making in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.

By E. W. HULME.

### WINDOW GLASS.—II.

**I**N October, 1576, Peter Appell and Peter Briet, the assignees of Quarre's\* share in the patent, sought the confirmation and renewal of the license for twenty-one years on

\* According to Mr. Hallen, the parish registers of Wisboro' Green, Sussex, contain an entry of Quarre's death about this date.

the following terms, which are taken from the Lansd. MSS., 22, Art. 6, 7, 8, through Burns' *History of Foreign Refugees*: The applicants alleged that large quantities of glass continued to be imported from abroad, and offered, on condition of their obtaining a prohibition of the foreign article, to pay to the Queen for every case of glass "of the fashion of Normandy, containing 24 tables 15d.; of Lorraine and Burgundy fashion containing 20 bundles 15d.; and of Hessen glass containing 60 bundles 3/1." Prices were to be fixed on the following scale: For glass of Normandy fashion, for every case containing 120 feet 32/-; for Lorraine and Burgundy glass, for each bundle containing 10 feet 21d.; and for the way of Hessen fashion £3. From these figures it may be inferred that the French blown window-glass was of superior make and size to that of Hesse; also that the latter was being manufactured in the country at this time, possibly by the German workmen whom Becku undertook to bring over after the rupture with the French glassmakers. The differences between Becku and the Frenchmen seem now to have been amicably arranged, for the petition received the support of the former, and a plan was suggested for the payment of the arrears of royalties due by the Frenchmen to the Crown, which the patentees had agreed to pay in compensation for the loss of customs. The application, however, was refused, the statement of Burn to the contrary notwithstanding.

From the time of their accepting a shelter in the country, the gentlemen glassmakers of France had resolutely refused to disclose the secrets of the manufacture, with the probable intention of returning to their homes when the religious persecution had subsided. In 1585 the subject attracted the attention of the Legislature, and a Bill was drafted "against the making of glass by strangers and outlandish men," which provided that "no one should carry on the trade of glassmaking unless he employed one Englishman for every two foreigners, or should cut timber within 22 miles of London, 7 of Guildford, 4 of Winchelsea, Rye, and Pevensy, and the foot of the hills called the Downs of Sussex."

Aubrey, indeed, states that eleven glass-houses at Chiddingfold were put down in this

reign "as nuisances, and in respect that there were others at Hindhead by a petition of part of this country;" and further evidence of the unpopularity of the foreigners is supplied by the Bishop of Chichester, who writes, in 1574, that he had suppressed "an attempt made to rob the Frenchmen that make glass near Petworth, and to burn their houses."

In the *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep.*, III., p. 5, it is stated that this Bill passed through all stages, but failed to receive the Royal Assent. But a somewhat different account is offered by George Longe in the petition which is reproduced below from the *Lansd. MSS.* 59, Art. 75.

To the Right honourable the Lord Burgleigh  
Lord Treasourour of Englande.

In the ix<sup>th</sup> yeare of the Queenes majesties most happye raigne, the first Priveledge for making of glasse in England was graunted vnto Anthonye Beckue als Dollyne & Jn<sup>o</sup> Carye straungers vpon these condicions.

To teache Englishmen the misterye. And to paye custome so muche as had beene payde for the like quantyie before transported from forreine partes.

Dollyne and Carye being merchants & having them selues no skill in the misterye, weare dryven to lease out the benefitt of their Patent, to the frenchmen, who not performing the foresaide covenantes did presentlye adnihillate, and make voide, the saide Patent.

The accion notwithstanding hath euer since beene contynued by divers without lycence. By which meanes besides the great spoile of tymber & woods her majestie hath lost the custome of all the glasse made & occupied in England these xxi yeares past, at least amounting to the somme of — 800<sup>li</sup>.

The Premisses considered Dollyne cannot with reason sue to haue his Patent renued.

The contynuaunce of the accion heere still without checke will in short tyme encrease the prices bothe of woodes and glasse.

May it please your Honour to graunt me the like patent vpon these condicions ensueinge—that it shalbe proffittable to her majestie, a Benefit to the commune wealthe, and no waye preiudiciall.

Proffittable to her majestie  
in this.

ffor euery glashouse to be contynued in England, to pay an annuall rent instead of the custome, so shall not her majestie be deceived.

Beneficiall to the commune  
wealth in this.

At no tyme to contynue aboute 4 glashouses in England, whearas there are now 14 or 15, to the great spoile of woodes. But to erect the rest in Ireland, wheare euery glashouse wilbe so good as 20 men in garison, for proof I wilbe be bounde to fynd 12 men at euery glashouse sufficiently furnished, ready to serue her majestie within 20 myles of their aboade.

I wilbe bounde

It shall not be preiudiciall  
for

To serue the realme with sufficient quantyie of glass so good & so good cheape as vsually hath beene made & sould by the saide straungers heere.

And whearas it maye be thought that by such a graunte, many poorestrangers which now liue by making of glass in England should for want of worke lacke maintenaunce, I wilbe bounde to set them all on worke, some in England & some in Ireland & to giue them wages for wages, they doing worke for worke as at this present they haue.

That I haue reason to desire this sute more  
than another man.

1 I haue spent my tyme wholly in the trade so hath no other englishe man.

2 I haue found stuffe meete, & brought to perfection the making of glass in Ireland, keeping at least 24 persons the space of two



yeares to my chardges in the tryall aboute  
— 500<sup>li</sup>.

3 By setting divers in hand to procure the Patent for England, and buying the Patent for Ireland of capitaine Woodhouse I haue beene at chardges at lest — 300<sup>li</sup>.

4 Vnles I procure them put downe, or else obtaine the Patent for England to repress them I am vtterly vndone. The Reason.—I cannot procure any glassmakeres to remaine & worke in Ireland, so longe as they haue libertye heere in England.

The last parliament her majesties shipp writes ioyning with me, we exhibited a bill to haue them putt downe heere in England, which the house did like well of. But being not full read & committed till towards the end of the Parliament, and the committyes chosen being such as sould woodes to the frenchmen for that purpose, kept the bill and neuer sate thereon, and so it rested vndetermined.

My humble request.

The premisses considered, that it tendeth to the Benefitt of her majestie and the commune wealthe. May it please your honour of your accustomed clemency to conceyue so good an oppinyon as to graunt me the like Patent vppon the condicions before recited. And (god willing) I will not onely see your honours Building from tyme to tyme repaired with the best glass, but also giue one hundred Angells to be bestowed wheare it shall please your lordship to appointe. And further as my bounden duety is dayly praye that God may preserue and contynue your Lordship in health honour & happiness.

(signed) Your Honours poore Orator  
George Longe

The Patent graunted to Dolyn, was dated in September anno 9<sup>o</sup> Eliz: for xxi yeares and so the same expired.

(Endorsed) Patent.

Sute for making of  
glass in Ireland

3 Octobris. 1589.

George Longe

Humbly prayes y<sup>r</sup> lordship of y<sup>r</sup> honorable fauor to grante vnto hym the like Patent for making of glass as Dolwyn heretofore had.

This petition seems to have received some consideration from Cecil, who suggested that

Longe should approach Dolyn in the matter; and in a second petition,\* written shortly after the above, Longe states that the interview had taken place, and asks for an appointment for the further hearing of the petition. Here, however, the matter ended.

From the Irish State Papers it would appear that Captain Wodehouse, the original holder of the Irish patent, together with Ralph Pylling, had assisted Longe in erecting two glass furnaces in that country; but here the history of Irish glassmaking abruptly terminates. I am indebted to the Rev. T. S. Cooper, of Chiddingfold, for the information that about 1542 a Henry Longe had a small holding in that parish. This fact, taken with the assertion of George Longe "that he had spent his time wholly in the trade," suggests that he was of Sussex extraction, and had obtained his knowledge of glass-making from the native Sussex glassmakers.

In or about 1589 another petition was addressed to the Queen for a lease of that restricted section of the glass manufacture which lays claim to be of native origin, viz., the making of urinals, bottles, tumblers, etc.; but this petition also was unsuccessful.

Lansd. MSS. 59.—No. 77.

To the Quene our most gracious souerainne Lady Humblie besecheth your excellent majestie to graunt vnto your seruants Hugh Myller and Acton Scott your highnes footemen for their better mayntenaunce in your majesties seruice a leas for terme of yeres or otherwise, the makinge of all manner of glasses whatsoever which are vsually made within your highnes Realme of England of what makinge soeuer the same is of, beinge vrynalls, bottles, bowles, cuppis to drinck in and such lyke, except such as is already graunted to one Iacobe A straunger dwelling in the Crucedfryers in London, which he hath by letters Patents for terme of yeres, for the makinge of all manner of counterfayt venyce drinckinge glasses, and except all manner of glasses to be made for glasiours vses for wyndowes and such lyke, the makinge of all which sayd glasses straungers which are none of your majesties subiects do take the commoditie therof from your

\* See Ellis, *Roy. Letters*, 2 Ser. iii., 157, and *Notes and Queries*, Ser. I., 6, p. 324.

highnes subiects who are as well able to exercise that trade, and with as moch scyll as any other are. And they (as their most bounden duties is) shall euer pray for your majesties most prosperous estate longe ouer your subjects to raigne.

(Endorsed) H. Myller and A. Scott her majesties footemen. for a leas for makinge of glasses, wherof straungers take the commodity.

(In pencil) 1589.

From the preceding account a tolerably clear idea may be obtained of the rise and development of the window and green glass industry during the latter half of the sixteenth century, and the way has been paved for the more accurate discussion of a question which has been debated by the Newcastle-under-Lyme historians, viz., the date of the establishment of the glass industry in Worcestershire, Staffordshire, and at Newcastle. The whole question is admirably treated by Mr. H. S. Grazebrook in his *Collections for a Genealogy of the Noble Families of Henzey, Tyttery, and Tyzack*, Stourbridge, 1877; but as this work was printed only for private circulation—at least, no copy exists at the British Museum—and as the information has been supplemented in some material points by Mr. Hallen, a brief resumé of the facts may not be out of place. It is now clear that the extension of the glass industry first took a westerly direction, and was due in part to the exhaustion of the timber reserves of the Weald, and partly to the unpopularity which the attitude of the foreign glassmakers had aroused in these localities. About 1577, the Henzeys and Tyzacks had established a furnace at Buckholt, near Salisbury, where, in addition to window-glass, bottles, tumblers, and other articles were manufactured. These appear to have been sold to pedlars, who went by the name of glassmen, and who retailed their wares in the country districts. These pedlars were expressly exempted from the purview of the Statute of Vagabonds (39 Eliz. 4) provided they obtained a license from the justices of the peace in the country through which they travelled; but this privilege was recalled by 1 Jac. 7.

In or about 1599 Mr. Hallen proves from the transcripts of the parish registers at

Gloucester that another glasshouse had been established at Newent on the borders of the Forest of Dean, where a member of the Tyzack family appears to have been working harmoniously with another stranger of the name of Voydyn. The exact date of the first settlement at Stourbridge is still uncertain. According to Mr. Grazebrook, the names of Tyzack and Henzey occur first at Oldswinford in 1615, that of Tyttery in 1622, and he inclines to the belief that no settlement took place either at Stourbridge or Newcastle much before 1615.\* Mr. George Harrison, in an article contributed to Timmins' *Industries of the Birmingham and Midland Hardware District*, mentions the existence of a lease of the Stourbridge fireclay to some foreigners, whose names are not given, as early as 1566. The production of this lease would materially aid in the solution of this question, which, for the present, must remain undetermined. In favour of Mr. Harrison's date there is the fact of the discovery at Buckholt of pots of a grayish-white clay, the material for which must have come from a distance. In 1565 the experimental efforts of De Lannoy, who was subsidized by the Queen, were frustrated owing to the want of a suitable fireclay. "The potters, we are told, cannot make him one pot to content him. They knowe not howe to season the stuffe to make same to susteyne the force of his great fyers." Moreover, Quarré is believed to have penetrated as far as Oxfordshire before finally deciding to commence operations in Sussex.

The chief obstacle, therefore, in the way of accepting Mr. Harrison's date is the absence of any direct authority for the statement. It is, of course, possible that the fire-clay was used in the pottery district some time before its special value for glass pots was ascertained. The fact of the clay underlying the coal measures at a considerable depth below the surface renders it probable that the discovery was purely accidental. About 1611, or a little earlier, experiments were being carried on in this district with the object of substituting coal for timber as fuel in the glass manufacture, and it is to this date we should

\* Since writing the above, Mr. Grazebrook informs me that there is an entry in the Kingswinford registers under the date April 20, 1612, of the baptism of John, son of Paul and Bridget Tyzack.

be disposed to refer the first settlement of the glass industry here. The valuable properties of the fireclay were soon recognised, for in Plot's time the trade had extended to London and Bristol. A further light might be thrown on the subject by a series of letters addressed by Walter Bagot to James I. (*Hist. MSS. Comm.*, IV., 342), in which reference is made to Bagot's glass-house in Staffordshire.

(The next paper will deal with Crystal Glass.)



## Dyganwy, Caer Llion, and Caer Seion.

By the late H. H. LINES.

**D**YGANWY was known by this name in the fifth century. In the Middle Ages it was called by the English, according to their usual corrupt pronunciation, Gannock. By the modern Welsh it is called Vaer-drew. Tacitus mentions a place under the name of Cangorum Civitas, which is considered by Llwyd and other learned antiquarians to be situated at Dyganwy, and that it was the winter quarters of the Cangi, or national herdsmen, who had their summer station at Canganorum Promontorium of Ptolemy (Braich y Pwll in Lley). It is stated by D. W. Pughe, the author of several valuable writings on the archæology of Caernarvonshire, that a Roman station, dependant on Cornovium, was situated here under the later emperors, if not at an earlier period, named Dictum. Cornovium is five miles up the river Conway, on its left bank, and judging from a plan I took of the station in July, 1871, it would contain a garrison of three cohorts, or 1,440 men, certainly not more, and yet we are told it was garrisoned by the 10th Legion, the Antonina Augusta. A full legion would, at the period under notice, consist of 5,300 men, so that supposing the 10th at the time to be even a weak legion, the garrison of Cornovium would have consisted of a portion only of the 10th. Probably it was the headquarters, while the remainder of the legion may have been placed

at Dyganwy or Dictum, at the estuary of the Conway.

So far we gather from Tacitus and Ptolemy that the Cangi were in possession of the land when the Romans appeared on the field. The Cangi were the herdsmen of the primitive pastoral tribes of Britain, who migrated as the seasons changed to fresh fields and pastures, from the neighbourhood of Bardsey, to Dyganwy, on Morva Rhianedd, the Marsh of the Maidens. The Triads tell us that the herds of milch cows belonging to the tribe of Caradog, an Ordovician chief, numbered 20,000. Bronze Celts of this period have been found at Dyganwy.

But this pastoral town must have been an important place before the arrival of the Romans; the trenches, mounds, and foundations cover a wider space of ground, extending from the old residence of Cadwalader, Bod Caswallon, across Morva Rhianedd, surrounding the two citadel peaks of Dyganwy, and enclosing space for a good sized town, exclusive of the large entrenched environs surrounding the bases of the double citadel.

Bod Caswallon, or the abode of Caswallon Law hir, retains some of its remains in the grounds of Bod yn gallen. Maelgwn Gwynedd, the son of Caswallon, had his Lys, or palace, on the hill, Bryn Euryn, adjoining. He succeeded to the sovereignty of North Wales on the death of Caswallon, in 517 A.D., when he took possession of the rocky fortress of Dyganwy, the long-contested key of Snowdonia. He greatly increased its defensive strength, and by his tyrannical exactions made it the terror of friends and foes alike. In some records he is called the King of Dyganwy, and the place was for three centuries the capital of North Wales. Maelgwn held his court there, and we find it the locale of a romance, probably founded on facts, concerning the captivity and liberation of Prince Elphin, related in the Mabinogion by Taliesin; and though we may refuse to admit this as history, still there is no doubt of its giving a true portrait of the times to which it refers, and showing a thorough knowledge of the localities in which the romance is laid.

Elphin, the son of Gwyddno Garanhir, was the patron of Taliesin, and was imprisoned by Maelgwn in the fortress of Dyganwy, for trying to outboast the King at a Christmas

banquet. Elphin was thrown into a dungeon, "the belly of the Stoney Tower," as it is so graphically called by the bard, who was probably well acquainted with the gloomy den, a place for savage beasts rather than human beings. To see it is enough to make one feel thankful that the roaring, boasting tyrant Maelgwn is laid at rest, or otherwise disposed of. This dungeon is quarried out in the centre of the great rock of the fortress; it is an oblong of 40 feet by 45 feet, and 25 feet deep; no masonry is visible, but a small cave or recess in one corner. It was surrounded by the keep, which was built on its margin, and has left its foundations well marked. However, the bard has his poetical revenge on Maelgwn. It appears that a plague or pestilence was engendered from the unburied bodies of his vanquished foes, slain in an exterminating war on the shores of Morva Rhianedd. Maelgwn, we are told, secluded himself safely, as he thought, in the sanctuary of Llan Rhos Church, but even there, Taliesin says,

A strange creature will come from the Marsh of Rhianedd

To punish the iniquity of Maelgwn Gwynedd.  
Its hair, its teeth, and its eyes are yellow as gold,  
And this will destroy Maelgwn Gwynedd.

And according to the bard it was so.

After this denunciation Taliesin says: "It is I who am a diviner, and a leading bard, who know every passage in the Cave of Silence. I shall liberate Elphin from the belly of the Stoney Tower. I am Taliesin, chief of the bards of the West, who will loosen Elphin out of the golden fetter."

The Cave of Silence "in the belly of the Stoney Tower," is singularly and most truly descriptive of the deep quarry-like excavation on the rock of Dyganwy, where nothing could be heard except the voice of the approaching storm and the shriek of the sea-birds; and it marks with the hand of a master the manners and customs of the times in which Maelgwn lived, and ruled the land with the iron rod of a tyrant. But the trials of Elphin did not terminate at Dyganwy. He was liberated from this gloomy prison only to be incarcerated in another in the "land of Arthro," near Harlech, where, after a long search, I believe I traced the place of this second imprisonment on an almost in-

accessible rock hidden from view in the recesses of a forest. But I am straying beyond my bounds.

Quitting the domains of tradition and entering on the more solid ground of history, we find this strong border fortress passing through the vicissitudes of war, sometimes successfully, sometimes the reverse. It appears to have been partially destroyed with the city about 810, and lost its pre-eminence as capital of North Wales. In 1098 the fortress was repaired, but finally demolished in 1262 by Prince Llywelyn, and I expect we find it now much as Llywelyn left it after wreaking his vengeance upon it.

Maelgwn also built a fort named *Caer Gyffyn*, in order to command the ferry over the Conway, upon the site of which the stately towers of Conway were afterwards erected, it is said, from the ruins of Dyganwy. On this unique town and its magnificent castle I need not expatiate—they are too well known—but the physical aspect of the locality under notice, as it was in the fifth or sixth century, will be interesting. We learn from the Triads and the old genealogies of the saints that one of the most terrible catastrophes that could happen to a country took place between the fifth and sixth centuries: a sudden and general subsidence of the coasts of Caernarvonshire and Merionethshire, when the lowland valleys which lay round the bays of Conway and Cardigan, containing, we are told, many flourishing towns and princely residences, were given to the devouring sea waves, as in Arddwy on the Merioneth coast, where Seithinen was governor, "whose land was overflowed by the sea." Those who escaped the deluge are said to have taken refuge in the highlands and valleys of the neighbouring mountains. We find similar traditions relative to the coast lying towards the great Orme, and also to the east of the little Orme towards Abergelly. In the bay of Conway a tract of land extended for 12 miles in length and 5 miles in breadth. Here tradition tells us that Helig ap Glanawg had a palace, which stood about a mile from the present shore-line opposite to Dwygyfylchi, surrounded "by a most delicate vale abounding in fruitfulness;" the ruined walls of Helig's palace are now said to be visible at low tides; the inhabitants escaping as they could to a



hill called Trwyn-y-Wylfa, or Hill of Lamentations. If these accounts are to be relied on Penmaenmawr must have been situated during the Roman occupation of Britain at least five miles from the sea, and instead of looking, as it does now, over a wide expanse of sand and estuary, it faced a valley abounding in pastoral beauty, while on the south it commanded the rocky ranges of Snowdonia, of which Leland says, "the grags of Eryre are forest."

#### CAER LLION.

I will now direct your attention to the second town or city I have previously touched upon, Caer Llion. Of the origin of this place we have no record, either by tradition or history, and I believe we have only one incident connected with its existence, and that shows it to have been a great place of the Gorseddau, or Assembly of the Bards. But notwithstanding the obscurity and mystery which surrounds the place, I think by a little unprejudiced investigation its character may be ascertained, and by implication some idea of its history may be carried back to its earliest period, for unlike Dyganwy, no cement or mortar has ever been used; the entire works are Cyclopean and dry stone-work.

The remains are those of a city and its citadel, with its religious establishments for paganism, when Ceredwn was the "illustrious lady paramount" of the Ancient Britons. These remains cover the entire ridge and summit of what we know now as the Conway Mountain, but which was formerly known under the names Caer Llion and Caer Seion. The two Caers, a word signifying enclosure, are situated closely adjoining each other, and I am inclined to think they both were more concerned with the social institutions of the prehistoric period than with its more stirring and war-like proclivities. Though Caer Llion possesses a citadel adjunct, its size, which is only 200 feet by 100 feet in its area, would accommodate but a small garrison. The two Caers were probably each devoted to a distinct phase of paganism, though at the same time in harmony with each other. Caer Llion, with its war-like feature, the citadel, may have paid its devotions to the God of War, and the energizing powers of Nature, exemplified by its Phallic

stones of adoration; while Caer Seion, a name which rather indicates an establishment under the charge of priestesses, was probably devoted to the worship of the British Ceredwn and her daughter, Llywy, similar characters to the classic Ceres and Proserpine.

I am afraid the earliest of our writers who mention this place throw but a dim light upon the subject. Leland, in his *Itinerary*, mentions a place near Conway which he calls Sinnodum. He describes it as a great work and about a mile out of the town, but does not indicate in what direction. This is only a crumb of information unless there happen to be any relation between Seion and Sinnodum. But a castle of Sinnodum is represented near the marsh of Conway in a map of the county annexed to an old edition of Camden's *Britannia*, and this corresponds with the situation of one of the two Caers which rise from the marsh of Conway, and is marked on the Ordnance map as Caer Seion. I found this place sadly destroyed by quarrying, but sufficient is left to identify the enclosure, which seems to have consisted simply of a glacis without either mound or ditch. It crowns and occupies the two lower summits on the ridge of Mynydd y Dre, and bears rather a terrace character. That gossiping writer Pennant, on his return from Penmaenmawr to Conway by the old mountain road, remarks on his left hand "a lofty hill impending over the Conway river. Upon its summit is Castel Caer Lleion, a British post, surrounded with ditches and strong ramparts of stone." Also, this name is likewise adopted by D. W. Pughe, Esq., in his *Guide*, a well-written and talented little essay; but Caer Seion is either not noticed or mixed up with its more imposing neighbour.

Caer Seion was a general Celtic-name for those establishments which were presided over by women. Pomponius Mela mentions a "Sena," which seems to correspond with the British Seion, "situated in the British sea, and famous for the oracle of a Gaulish deity, whose priestesses, devoted to perpetual virginity, are said to be nine in number, and are called Gallicenæ, supposed to be of great genius and endowments, capable of raising storms by their incantations, of transforming themselves into whatever animals they pleased, of curing ailments, and foretelling the future."

The old British writings also mention certain priestesses called Gwyllion, who sang their nightly songs on the star-lit lakes. These children of the evening are mentioned by Taliesin as lamenting the death of a priest of Hu, the British Bacchus. The Gwyllion were also called Sëon, and these mystical personages seem to have conferred their own name upon the places where they performed their office. Taliesin says, "the tuneful tribe will resort to the magnificent Se of the Sëon," and it is probably thus that we find the name Caer Seion attached to an enclosure on Mynydd y Dre.

On examining this mountain I must confess to much surprise in finding certain characteristics which seem to give colour to the Arkite theory which the learned Ed. Davies wrote so confidently about sixty years ago, and which diluvian theory has since been swept away by a deluge of criticism. Whether the Arkite theory be true or not, there are excavations in the enclosure of Caer Seion of far earlier date than the numerous stone quarries still worked on the hill, and of a different character. I observed two large excavations, one a gray, hoary, moss-grown quarry, with narrow curved sides, in form like those of a boat, the debris from the inside not thrown as a useless heap in front, but piled up around the outer margin. Davies, I believe, never visited the spot; if he had done so, he would have found structures most strongly corroborating the details he enters into on this subject. But I must proceed without showing how remarkably the rites and festal ceremonies of the prophetic maids, the Gwyllion, corresponded to those of Greece as described by Euripides.

Caer Llion signifies the enclosure of the ancient; it is likewise said to bear some relation to floods, and more particularly to the Deluge of Noah; Caer Llion would therefore be the fortress of the floods. But it is worth while to examine this name a little further. The old British chronicles tell us of a King Lleon, 917 years B.C., who built a city on the banks of the Dee (Dyvrddwy) and named it Caer Lleon; this is reputed to be Chester, but recent authors tell us that Chester was called Caer Lleon from the 20th Legion, the Victrix, a stone with an inscription referring to that legion having been found there in

1653. But we also find the Romans knew Chester under the name Deva, which seems to throw a doubt as to Caer Lleon being its Roman name. Also, there is another Caer Lleon on the Usk, said to have been founded 401 B.C. by Beli ap Dyvnwal Moelmund, thus putting aside the Roman claims in both instances, and perhaps justly so. At any rate, we have Caer Llion on Mynydd y Dre, an undoubted British fortress so named, and in all the records remaining of it it bears no other name, from which I am inclined to think Caer Llion to be really more ancient than the advent of the Romans in Britain.

The approach to Caer Llion remains untouched from the base of Mynydd y Dre to the citadel. It consists of a wide road between slight mounds, the road space being about 20 feet wide, leading up the southern face of the hill, a little west of the citadel, when it merges into a broad terrace as it approaches the fortress, and terminating in a zigzag just as it nears the entrance. About midway along the terrace are the fractured remains of a great stone, standing now 5 feet high, broken into three parts, all lying together. When entire the block stood 11 feet 3 inches high. Its summit appears to have been conical, indicating a monument of Phallic character. It stands now, as it has done from prehistoric times, the first object to meet the eye on the approach to Caer Llion. Its presence there seems to denote that some preliminary observances took place at the spot previous to admission to the citadel, and we may also infer that Caer Llion was not so much a place of warlike character as of religious observances. Also, in the time of Maelgwn it was a place of assemblage for the great meetings of the Gorsedd or Bardic societies. The great stone of adoration appears to have stood within an enclosure, the vestiges of which, though slight, are still to be seen. The stone was probably dragged down with ropes, and afterwards split up by a slow process; if great violence had been used, the three parts would not have remained so close together.

The general shape of the citadel of Caer Llion is three-sided. The interior is about 200 feet by 100 feet across its widest part. It is in good preservation, and originally presented an evenly-faced wall of dry stonework.

The facing may yet be traced a little below the crest on the outside. The watch-holes of the garrison may also be traced on the outer slope, showing the wall to have been originally built on a very wide sloping angle, as is the case with all these uncemented walls wherever I have examined them, the base being from 35 feet to 40 feet across. The entrance is only 6 feet wide. There are two outworks, one adjoining the entrance gate, the other at the west end, protected by three mounds. The western outwork was entered by crossing the fortress wall. The area of the fortress is occupied by twelve of the circular foundations of huts, the largest being 15 feet across. We find here the natural formation of the rocks made use of by the builders both to augment the bulk of the wall and to build their huts against. Exterior to the eastern ramparts is a row of pits, seven in number, about 5 feet deep, and from 20 feet to 50 feet in length and 12 feet in width, with a high mound 100 feet long between them and the fortress wall. The pits could not have served the purpose of a foss, as they are divided and bridged across in six places. It occurred to me that they may have been made for shelter during the equinoctial gales, which are no trifle at this elevation of 1,000 feet. I several times took refuge in them during the stormy July of 1871, and found them to answer most effectually. The walls of the town, as well as the citadel, consist of dry stonework. They enclose a considerable portion of the upper ridges of Mynydd y Dre, on the south slopes of which, away from the sea, are many of the excavations called Cythian Gwyddelod, where the old habitations were placed. On the seaward side of the ridge are nearly a dozen stone circles, more or less imperfect. They are about 25 feet in diameter, and consist of larger stones than those used in the citadel huts. One of them appears to have been a double or concentric circle when entire. The town wall on the seaward side follows the edge of a perpendicular cliff, enclosing all the available summit of the mountain, and meeting the landside wall, where the town joins the enclosure of Caer Seion. From this spot to the citadel there is a great rise along the gray weather-worn town, consisting for the most part of outcrops of Felspar

Schist. These outcrops of rough rock have been manipulated in a manner peculiar to, and constantly practised by, the Cymraeg Celts, especially in the formation of their open or hypæthral temples of the earliest type. It is to this singular faculty of adapting the so-called accidents of nature to their own requirements that I wish to draw attention. I had become aware of, and convinced for several years back during my researches in Merionethshire, that the practice I allude to was habitual, and the invariable rule with the Celtic tribes; but I hesitated from giving expression to the full extent to which my observations led me; and so far from drawing hasty conclusions on this subject, I have rather held back until I could show a sufficient number of carefully measured plans for examination. At one time I postponed the investigation of some thousands of great blocks of the boulder character, showing a singular arrangement, until I could give a few days of uninterrupted attention to them. For twelve months those stones called me to examine them. I had frequently in the early morning and late in the evening passed close by the group, when the question invariably arose in my mind, Can this be an artificial or a natural arrangement, the work of man or the result merely of natural causes, for instance, the débris of a moraine? The place being overgrown with a very luxuriant screen of bracken, I spent an hour one evening in clearing away some of the vegetation, and soon found I was laying bare the Cyclopean work of some reasoning beings, exhibiting much method and rude artificial arrangement in their work. The true meaning of this arrangement is still a mystery which I have not yet unravelled. However, the discovery confirmed my previous anticipations on the subject of Celtic remains, and gave me a clue whereby to detect the habitual operations of those singular and little-known tribes whom we call prehistoric. This clue I applied in the examination of the remains at Caer Llion on Mynydd y Dre, and I found the rough rocks utilized, as they stood where Nature had placed them, by having other great blocks pushed, hauled, and placed in position against them, till the desired oval or circular form of the open structure was obtained. There is an enormous amount of this Cyclopean work

on Mynydd y Dre, which casual visitors never see, because they are content with that which gives them no trouble, merely opening their eyes, but the mental effort of observing and drawing conclusions from what they see is beyond their grasp.

I regret that time did not allow me to make more sketches and plans of these interesting remains than I have done; I could only obtain measured plans of two of the open temples. These temples adjoin each other and form one group, and each one shows a completeness of details which will give some idea of the general construction of others. In one of these temples the adytum was altogether hidden from view by a thick growth of bracken, which I spent two hours in clearing away, but was amply rewarded by finding underneath, and protected by the ferns, considerable remains of the original pavement of the sacred enclosure, consisting of small rough stones without cement. I had previously suspected that pavements had been introduced into these open structures from slight evidences of the same in other remains, and was much gratified at finding an example nearly perfect. These two temples, though almost entire in all their essential features, have yet suffered from ignorant depredators; but a restoration of the entire structures would be comparatively easy; and I am sanguine enough to believe that an unprejudiced examination of them by those theorists who imagine all stone circles to be sepulchral, would result in an acknowledgment of their being temples for the worship of the ancient British deities.

In my researches among this class of remains my first object is to find the bearings of a straight line through the centre from the presidential seat, or from the stone of adoration; these two points being usually opposite each other. Having done this, I always found a remarkable correspondence in the two sides of the structure, though it might consist of a number of enclosures. There is not always an exact uniformity between the two sections, but a general similarity, sufficient to convey the idea of unity, and it is probable that the exterior boundary or enclosure did correspond one side with the other, and that it was only in details that any deviations were to be found. I adopted the central line in the

temples at Caer Llion, and by it was enabled to unravel the intricacies of the various single and double circles and ovals, and also to mark the entrances connecting one with the other, and to note deficiencies where stones had been abstracted. I have no doubt but that the builders and contrivers of these primitive temples also adopted the straight line to start with, and worked on each side of it. I found the seats of presidency, the seats of the initiated, the stone of adoration, and the adytum invariably placed on a straight line, though not always on the same compass points, and the altar was not always on a line with the centre, though always placed in the adytum, or on the line of the adytum wall. The twin temples on Mynydd y Dre are quite in accord with this rule, though they stand with regard to each other at an angle of 60 degrees. The greatest divergency is to be found in the position of the stone of adoration in each temple respectively. In temple No. 1 we find that the seat of presidency is placed at the north-east; on a line in front is the adytum, with its altar on the north-west side; on the same line at 30 feet distance is the stone of adoration. In temple No. 2, in front of the presidential seat, is placed the stone of adoration, and in front of this we find the adytum and the altar within its circle on the south-west side. In the first case there is the seat of presidency, then the adytum, then the phallic stone of adoration; in the second case there is the seat of presidency, then the stone of adoration, then the sanctuary with its altar.

The adytum of the temple No 2 is one of the most perfect remains of a Druidic adytum to be found; it not only retains its exterior and interior marginal stones, filled up between with smaller stones entire, but the entrances and a deviating curve round the back of the altar are preserved, also its original pavement laid in concentric sectional curves, and carried through the principal entrance. The altar stands as first placed, opposite the entrance. These arrangements indicate that a preliminary offering upon the altar was an introduction to subsequent ceremonies; the passages of communication from one enclosure to another seem to lead to that conclusion. Many of these rock temples are placed on steeply sloping ground; both of those under



consideration are so placed, the seats of presidency being the high places of the temple, while the adytum is placed on the lower ground, which is comparatively level. The stones of adoration in these temples are dissimilar; that in No. 2 is broken, the parts lying together, while that in No. 1 is a remarkably good specimen of the pointed stones, either of phallic character or as symbolic of the sun. There has been much destruction of the southern vestibules to these two temples. The adytum of No. 2 is entered at once, without any semblance of a vestibule, and the phallic stone in No. 1 stands denuded of all its former boundary stones.

The two presidential seats in these temples require a few observations. In No. 1 the place of presidency retains rather above one half of its original form, and from what remains it appears to have once formed a segment of 180 degrees, and was divided into seven compartments by eight projecting stones, after the manner of stalls, though in a primitive and rough fashion. This indicates that the arrangements were not for one president but for an open court, or assembly, probably of the Druidic priesthood. The presidential seat in No. 2 consists of a rostrum 9 feet by 15 feet, backed by an upright rock *in situ* 5 feet high; in front is a steep escarpment of 20 feet, at the base of which is the broken stone of adoration. The presidential seats in both temples overlook the structures from end to end, No. 1 being raised above the opposite end 15 feet; that in No. 2 is raised 30 feet above the floor of its adytum.

It is a question why these twin temples appear to be upon such close terms of companionship, and also why they could not have been placed somewhat more orderly, and on the square with each other. I cannot account for these eccentricities of the Celtic mind, which seems to possess an innate antipathy to all laws of uniformity and absolute order. This erratic character is the cause of an interminable variation in the arrangements of these open temples where it was thought an indignity to limit and confine the deities beneath a roof and between stone walls. Before I quit these pagan fanes I would mention that the phallic stone of adoration in No. 1 stands 5 feet 3 inches high; it is conical, uninjured, and is wedged up into

position. The altar in No. 2 is 3 feet high, and, I believe, has been worked into its present shape, being the only stone here having that appearance. There is a ledge on the inner side at about focus distance from the top, tempting the supposition that it may have been used for the purpose of calling down fire from heaven by means of a lens. There is also a squared recess on the inside at the base of the stone, as if to contain things connected with the altar.

It appears that Caer Llion, the fortress of the floods, was the seat of a great Gorsedd or bardic meeting in the sixth century, when Maelgwn Gwynedd, King of Dyganwy, went to decide in a dispute for superiority between the bards and harpists. He obliged the disputants to swim across the Conway, probably at Caer Gyffyn, much to the disgust of the indignant harpists, whose drenched harps gave sounds to startle a Caliban, while the bardic poets, with wind and limbs braced by the invigorating exercise, carried off the prize. This is the earliest notice extant of a bardic congress, and it took place at a period when the bardic institution had become greatly lowered from its previously high position of one of public instruction to that of pampering the pride of its patrons, and contributing to their convivial amusement. An account of this contest is given in a poem by Jorwerth Beli, addressed to the Bishop of Bangor in 1240 A.D. in the *Myoyrian Archaeology*, vol. i. Jorwerth lived 600 years after Maelgwn, and if that period should be deemed too long to have retained the tradition, it still shows that 630 years back Caer Llion had the reputation of a place celebrated for the great assemblies of the Gorseddau, and I must say that I think the place, judging from its remains at the present day, fully bears out its traditional reputation.

Much yet may be done by careful exploration on this mountain, where so much is left undisturbed or nearly so. Excepting the citadel of Caer Llion, the twin temples, and phallic stones of adoration, with notices of the stone circles, I have done no more than to satisfy myself that the luxuriant bracken clothing its sides conceals other Celtic remains, of which my limited time only gave me a few glimpses.

The name of Conway Mountain, by which this place is now recognised, is a recent

appellation. Its ancient name Mynydd y Dre, is literally "Town Mountain," but when, in the inevitable lapse of time and progress of civilization, the ancient superstitions gave way before the spread of a purer system and the brighter light of truth, the enclosures on the Town Mountain were deserted, and the mountain itself became a solitary desert, its name lingering only among the dwellers in the valleys, while the stately castle of Edward I. supplanted the Castel von Maelgwn, and the Town Mountain became Conway Mountain.



### Lancashire Ministers, A.D. 1643—1654-55.

By LIEUT.-COL. HENRY FISHWICK, F.S.A.

**F**ROM the commencement of the Civil War in 1642 to the Restoration the episcopal registers and other records relating to the admission of clergy to the various livings in the county are, if not entirely wanting, of the most meagre and unsatisfactory character. In the absence of these records any information throwing light upon this somewhat obscure period of church history is of great interest and value. The names of the ministers who signed the document known as "The Harmonious Consent of the Ministers of Lancashire," in 1648, and the paper called the "Agreement of the People," in 1649, furnish but a meagre list which, when supplemented by the addition of the names given in the Church Surveys of 1649-55\*, still leaves many gaps in the register of the holders of some of the Lancashire parish churches and parochial chapelries. Several of these missing names are now for the first time in print, and will be found in the *Plundered Ministers' Accounts for Lancashire and Cheshire*.† The following is a list of those chapels to which no minister's name

appeared in any of the three records just referred to, but which is furnished in the *Plundered Ministers' Accounts*. The date under which the name appears is also added:

- Ellenbrook Chapel, James Valentine, October 30, 1650.
- Elswick Chapel, William Bell, May 26, 1651.
- Farnworth Chapel, John Walton, M.A., June 1, 1647.
- Holmes Chapel, Thomas White, December 11, 1651.
- Longton Chapel, Richard Briggs, August 9, 1648.
- Singleton Chapel, Cuthbert Harrison, March 7, 1650-51.
- Tockholes Chapel, Joshua Barnett, April 14, 1642.
- Woodplumpton Chapel, John Haydocke, July 21, 1654.

We have here the appointments to eight chapelries. Accepting the Church Surveys as furnishing a correct list of the clergy in 1650, the *Plundered Ministers' Accounts* between the dates specified give us a record of many earlier appointments and changes. These are:

- Bury, Andrew Lathom (with William Alte), April 24, 1645.
- Newton (in Winwick) Mr. Norman, August 9, 1645.
- Childwall, David Elletson, August 18, 1645.
- Maghull, James Worrall, November 6, 1645.
- Prestcot, Richard Day, August 7, 1646.
- Prestwich, Tobie Fornes, September 10, 1646.
- Warrington, James Smith (temporary?) October 8, 1646.
- Poulton, John Somers, October 21, 1647.
- Poulton, John Brekeley, May 5, 1652.
- Todmorden, John Hill, November 26, 1647.
- Cartmel, Christopher Hudson, August 17, 1646.
- Ulverston, Hugh Gunne, December 4, 1650.
- Hollinfare, Henry Atherton, December 18, 1650.

\* This list will be found in the Introduction to "Commonwealth Church Survey," *Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society*, vol. i.

† *Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society*, vol. xxviii.

Broughton-in-Furness, Thomas Rigby,  
January 24, 1650-51.

St. Helen's, John How, March 12, 1650-51.

Hale, Samuel Crosby, March 21, 1650-51.

Westhoughton, John Isherwood, June 25,  
1651.

Bispham, John Berkley, July 2, 1651.

St. Michael's-on-Wye, Henry Jenny, Sep-  
tember 5, 1651.

Walton-le-Dale, William Heald, Decem-  
ber 10, 1651.

Colton-in-Furness, John Turner, Decem-  
ber 17, 1651.

Haslingdon, James Smith, January 21,  
1651-2.

Pilling, James Threlfall, February 15,  
1651-52.

Rainford, James Smith, May 5, 1652.

Shirehead, William Ingham, May 27,  
1652.

Atherton, James Livesey, June 18, 1652.

Cockerham, Gerrard Brown, July 21, 1652.

Newchurch (in Winwick) John Bird,  
June 20, 1654.

Hambleton, Roger Sherburne, October  
19, 1654.

Gressingham, Henry Kidson, October 19,  
1654.

Hornby, Nick Wakefield, April 5, 1655.

The dates here given for the most part refer to the issue of grants for maintenance, and therefore, in some cases, the ministers may have been appointed and officiating prior to the order being made by the committee. The value of these data may be exemplified by the case of Elswick Chapel, of which the first regularly-appointed minister has always been presumed to have been Cuthbert Harrison, who was ejected thence in 1662; it is, however, now quite clear that he succeeded William Bell, who was there in 1651.

This first minister of Elswick was buried at Broughton Chapel, in the parish of Preston, on January 19, 1654-55, being described in the register as a "preacher."



## Publications and Proceedings of Archæological Societies.

### PUBLICATIONS.

THE first part of volume xii. of the COLLECTIONS OF THE SURREY ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY has been issued. It contains, besides reports of the proceedings of the society, a series of excellent papers on various subjects. The first of these is by Mr. J. Lewis André, F.S.A., on Compton Church, which was visited by the society in 1855, and again in 1861. Compton Church possesses a feature, which is believed to be practically unique, in a sanctuary at the east end of the chancel, which is in two stories above ground. In the upper of these stories, too, is preserved some wooden screenwork of Norman date, also, it need hardly be said, an exceedingly rare feature. Mr. André's paper is well illustrated, and a ground-plan of the church is given according to scale.—Lord Ashcombe follows with an account of the mural monuments in Dorking Church, but the inscriptions on them are not given.—This is followed by an account of a gold ring found in Lingfield Mark Camp.—A very fine lock of the date of Henry VII., which is preserved at Beddington Park, is illustrated by a photograph, and is described in a paper by Mr. André.—Mr. S. W. Kershaw, F.S.A., contributes an important paper on "The Manor of Lambeth," based on the Parliamentary Survey taken in 1647.—Mr. Kershaw's paper is followed by one by the Rev. T. S. Cooper, in continuation of others already contributed by him on "The Church Plate of Surrey." In the present instance the Rural Deanery of Streatham is taken, and, as might be expected from the suburban character of the district, a large amount of the plate is quite modern. Three Elizabethan communion-cups, however, are illustrated, and a fourth mentioned. They are all of the normal type. Opposite p. 82 photographs are given of a much-dilapidated thirteenth-century coffin chalice and paten of pewter, found in a priest's grave at Titsey.—The remainder of the number is made up of a continuation of "Surrey Wills," contributed by Mr. F. A. Crisp, and "The Visitation of Surrey, 1623," edited by Dr. Howard and Mr. Mill Stephenson.—We are glad to see the Surrey Society doing so much good and active work.



The Council of the HENRY BRADSHAW SOCIETY have just issued to the subscribers for 1894 the *Tracts of Clement Maydestone*, edited by the Rev. Christopher Wordsworth with his usual care and skill. In sending out the volume the Council state that the two volumes issued to members in return for the subscription for 1894 will consist of the *Tracts of Clement Maydestone* and the *Winchester Troper*, edited by the Rev. W. H. Frere. The editor of the *Bangor Antiphonarium* has found that it will be impossible to complete the second volume of this work in time for issue in the present year, but it is expected that it will be ready in the early part of 1895, and it will be issued as one of the volumes for that year. Several other volumes are

announced as being in preparation. Among these the *Bangor An iphonarium*, Part II., edited by the Rev. F. E. Warren; the *Westminster Missal*, fasc. iii., edited by Dr. J. Wickham Legg; and the *Martyrology of Gorman*, edited by Mr. Whitley Stokes—are mentioned as being already in the press.



The first part of volume i. of the third series of the *Sketch Book* of the ARCHITECTURAL ASSOCIATION, 56, Great Marlborough Street, London, has just been issued. It contains *inter alia* measured drawings of the font, etc., in the baptistery at Parma; the interior of St. John's Church, Timberhill, Norwich, showing a good rood-screen, and of Tilney Church, showing a good chancel-screen of 1618; and the Colegio Mayor de San Ildefonso Alcalá, Spain. In a circular which accompanies it the committee say that it is hoped that all who take an interest in measuring and sketching old buildings, etc., will avail themselves of the opportunity of becoming subscribers, and that those who are able to do so will contribute to the work, and thus help to ensure a steady supply of good plates. The Architectural Association's *Sketch Book* consists of illustrations from subjects of interest to architects in the various styles of the past, reproduced from the measured drawings and sketches of architectural students and others. It thus forms a valuable work of reference for all lovers of architecture and the allied arts. The *Sketch Book* is managed by a committee elected annually by the votes of all subscribers. Any subscriber who is a member of the Architectural Association is eligible for election. Each volume contains 72 plates, issued in twelve parts of six plates each. The size of each plate is 17½ by 13½ inches. A title-page and index are also supplied with each volume. Some plates are transferred from tracings made by the author from his original drawing. Measured drawings and large pen-and-ink drawings are reproduced by photo-lithography; pencil and water-colour sketches and drawings of colour decoration (the latter printed in colour) by the photo process or ink-photo process.

The *Sketch Book* has now been published for a quarter of a century, and two series are complete, and form a valuable record of architecture and the arts connected with it. Appreciation of its worth has been shown by the increasing number of the subscribers; but comparatively few appear to be acquainted with the work, and the committee feel sure that if it were more widely known it would be much more appreciated.



Part xxxv. of the Proceedings of the CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY has been issued. It contains a number of valuable papers originally contributed as communications to the society during the half year from October, 1892, to May, 1893.—Professor Hughes describes the collection of antiquities formed by the late Mr. Wiles Green, and bequeathed by him in 1892 to the society. The collection comprises a number of objects of very different kinds and dates. Their value largely lies in the fact that they were all discovered within a definite area at or near Manea, in Cambridge-

shire.—Mr. M. R. James describes the wall-paintings in Eton College Chapel. These are now hidden, and had, indeed, a narrow escape from total destruction by ignorant workmen in 1847, when they were discovered on the removal of some seventeenth-century wainscot and other woodwork. Drawings were made of them by Essex at the time, and it is on these drawings that Mr. James has founded his description of the subjects depicted. They are very thoroughly dealt with by Mr. James, and are compared with paintings at Winchester. It is to be hoped that before long the Eton wall-paintings may be again uncovered, and be made available for inspection and study. There is no doubt that they are the work of an English artist, and are excellent examples of their kind, too few of which have been preserved. They were covered up again in 1847 by Provost Hodgshon, who objected to their "papistical" character!—Mr. W. H. St. John Hope contributes a very attractive and valuable paper on "The Ensigns Armorial of the University, the Colleges, and the Regius Professors." It goes without saying that the subject is dealt with in a most thorough and exhaustive manner by Mr. Hope. The different shields are illustrated by a number of excellent illustrations inserted in the letter-press.—Baron von Hügel writes on an ancient well at Mount Sorrell, in which, among other things, a bucket was found having late Celtic bronze fittings.—A manuscript psalter in the University Library is described by Mr. M. R. James. The main interest of the psalter consists in the illustrations, which are very numerous, and all of them of great merit. They are described *seriatim* by Mr. James. He also writes on a Greek psalter in Emmanuel College Library, the importance of which he considers to lie in the fact that it is undoubtedly as old as the twelfth century, and was *certainly* not the work of a Greek scribe, and was *probably* written in England. It seems, therefore, to Mr. James that we have in it some interesting evidence as to the study of Greek in England during the Middle Ages.—Professor Hughes contributes a very important paper on "Castle Hill." It is, however, impossible to epitomize it here.—Mr. T. D. Atkinson writes on a Roman house at Swaffham Prior, discovered in 1892, and also on the original hall of Michael House, which is now merged in the royal foundation of Trinity College. Both these papers by Mr. Atkinson, as well as that on the Castle Hill by Professor Hughes, are accompanied by measured plans.—These papers we have mentioned, together with some shorter communications, make up an excellent part of the society's proceedings.



The YORKSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL JOURNAL, Part 50, has been issued to the members of the Yorkshire Archæological Society. It contains seven papers, the first of which is an outline history of the township of Nether-Thong, near Huddersfield, from notes left by the late Dr. Morehouse, F.S.A. The notes are edited by Mr. Thomas Brooke, the president of the society, who has prefixed a short and sympathetic memoir of the author.—The second paper is a continuation of one on "The Parochial Registers of Wragby," and is written by the Vicar. We do not observe anything very noteworthy in what we are told of the entries,



except that in a few cases the sponsors' names have been inserted in the baptismal registers.—The third paper is composed of some deeds, which would have been better printed among the notes. Not a word of explanation is said as to them, and their importance does not seem to warrant the place assigned to them here. The first five are comparatively modern translations from a Charter Roll of Edward I. and other originals, and they are printed in wholly modern orthography.—The succeeding paper is one of the best which the journal has contained for some time. It is a description and elucidation of the very remarkable Bruce Cenotaph at Guisbrough. It is written by Mr. William Brown, of Arncliffe, who recently edited the Guisbrough Chartulary for the Surtees Society, but whose name as the author has, however, been omitted from the heading of the paper on p. 226, and we are only left to discover it by referring back to the inside of the cover. The Bruce Cenotaph, an altar-tomb at Guisbrough, is now in fragments. The two long sides are now built into the lower stage of the tower on either side, inside the quasi-porch of the parish church. The stone forming the east end of the monument is preserved in the adjoining priory grounds; that which formed the west end is now lost—Dugdale, however, has fortunately given a rough drawing of it. A stone slab in the floor of the chancel of the parish church is suggested by Mr. Hodges, of Hexham, to have formed part of the base of the tomb; while the popular belief at Guisbrough is that the slab now forming the top of the altar in the church was originally the flat top of the tomb. There is much, no doubt, to be said for this latter theory, and it is accepted by Mr. Brown, but we are not sure that it is correct. Traces of five crosses can be detected on the slab in the usual positions, and it seems, on the whole, more likely that it is an altar-slab. The argument that it was not originally an altar-slab, because it is moulded all round, is not absolutely decisive. Even in its present disjointed and forlorn condition the monument is one of the most remarkable in the North of England. The stone of which it was formed is carboniferous limestone, often called blue marble. The two long side-slabs are ornamented by a series of shallow niches, which have plain mouldings and trefoil heads. There are five niches on each slab, and between them in both instances are four smaller niches much narrower and lower than the main ones. The larger niches contain statues of knights in armour, each facing full in front. The figures on the slab now on the south side of the porch, represent the English Bruces, lords of Skelton, and those on the slab now on the north side of the porch, the Bruces of the Scotch line. It is in these series of figures that the peculiar interest and importance of the tomb lies. The other ornamentations are comparatively unimportant, and are mainly composed of rebuses, religious devices, and emblems. The slab which formed the east end of the tomb, and which is now lost, bore, according to Dugdale's picture, the standing figure of a king crowned, with a sceptre in his right hand, and supporting a shield, on which were the royal arms of Scotland, in his left hand. He is shown as surrounded by smaller crowned figures, who are clad in armour. The slab which was originally at the west end has carved on it a group of figures now partly lost. The

central figure is that of the prior in the ordinary dress of an Augustinian canon; he holds with both hands a shield of the arms of the priory, and on either side of him are kneeling figures of canons. A number of questions are raised by this most remarkable monument, and as to it. The date Mr. Brown shows conclusively to have been between 1519 and 1534. He further hazards the opinion that it was erected by Mary Tudor, wife of James IV., and sister of Henry VIII. We hardly think that this can have been the case, for had the tomb been erected by anyone such as Mary Tudor, there would surely have been some record preserved of the fact, or local traditions current regarding it. The identification of the various figures of knights is most carefully worked out by Mr. Brown, and p. 258 is an amended and corrected Bruce pedigree. The thoroughness of this paper is very marked, and it is well illustrated with drawings and photographs by Mr. Hodges, to whom the writer acknowledges his obligations in regard to the architectural description.—The fifth paper in the journal is one by Dr. Fairbank, F.S.A., on "The Carmelites of Doncaster." It puts on record some useful facts.—Then follows a continuation from the previous numbers of Sir Stephen Glynne's "Notes on Yorkshire Churches." It is sometimes rather sad reading, in view of the havoc the "restorer" has since caused in several of the buildings visited fifty years or so ago by Sir Stephen, and described as they then were in his notes.—The last paper is a very good one by Mr. Richard Holmes, on "The Domesday Manors in the Wapentake of Osgoldcross."—The Notes contain two documents contributed by Mr. W. Paley Baildon, F.S.A.; a rejoinder from Major H. E. Chetwynd Stapleton to some statements in a former number made by Mr. R. Holmes; and an interesting contemporary document describing the boundaries of the lordship of Spofforth in 1577.—On the whole the number is a good one, and shows some useful work done by the members of the society.

#### PROCEEDINGS.

A meeting of the CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY was held on Monday, October 22, Mr. W. M. Fawcett, president, in the chair.—The Treasurer (Mr. Bowes) made the following communication on a copy of Linacre's *Galen de Temperamentis*, Cambridge, 1521, in the library of Trinity College, Dublin: "Being in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, a few weeks since, I took the opportunity of looking at a copy—which I knew to be there—of Linacre's *Galen de Temperamentis*, printed at Cambridge by John Siberch in 1521. I soon saw that it had some features that did not belong to any of the other copies I had seen, and which I will shortly describe. For convenience of description I will call the Dublin copy the first issue, and the other copies the second issue. The first issue (Dublin) consists of 74 leaves, title and preliminary eight leaves, plus A-P 4, Q 6, 66. The second of 82 leaves, title and preliminary eight leaves, plus A-R 4, S 6, 74. The two issues agree exactly up to Q 4. In the first issue of Q 5 recto the first three lines are the same as R 1 recto of the second issue, but the remaining lines are arranged in hour-

glass fashion, and end with the *De Temperamentis*: 'Geleni de Temperamentis, Thoma Linacro Anglo interprete, libri tertij, & ultimi. Finis.' On Q 5 verso is a woodcut, 'The Adoration of the Shepherds,' with imprint below: 'Impressum apud præclaram Cantabrigiam per Joannem Siberch. An M D xxi.' Q 6 recto is blank. Q 6 verso has the 8vo. block, the 'Arma Regia,' with below the date 'M.D. X.X.I.,' to which I will refer later. It will be seen that the Dublin copy has only the first treatise, the *De Temperamentis*, and in this it differs from every other copy that I have seen, and I have examined or have had reports from others of ten of the other eleven copies. It, however, has the same title-page, on which the 'de inequali Intemperie' is mentioned, and the same contents, in which appear references to folios that it does not possess. From this I think we may conclude that after the printing was finished, but before the book had been published, Linacre determined to add the second treatise. To do this he cancelled the two last leaves, 5 and 6 of Q, and began a new sheet, R. This might be inferred from the fact that Q is marked up to iij as for a quire of six leaves, while all the previous sheets are marked only up to iij; but it is made quite certain from the guards of the two cancelled leaves appearing quite plainly in some copies. The first issue explains some peculiarities in the printing of the second. What Mr. Bradshaw took for cancelled leaves, Q 3 and 4, are simply the original centre leaves of the sheet; but knowing nothing of a previous issue, this was the only probable explanation. The new matter, beginning on R 1, differs from the previous by having the folios marked and marginal notes. Mr. Bradshaw placed the *Galen* sixth of those printed by Siberch in 1521. The first issue exactly agrees as regards the condition of the woodcuts with the *Erasmus*, which he placed fifth, and we may therefore leave the numbers and call it 5\*. I alluded above to the 8vo. woodcut, 'Arma Regia,' with the date below, which is on the last page of the first issue of Q 6 verso. In Mr. Bradshaw's introduction to the Siberch books, prefixed to the *Bullock*, there is a note on p. 14 alluding to a similar leaf that I found in a mutilated condition in the Bagford Fragments in the British Museum, and which was assigned to the *Lucian* as the only Siberch book then known, of which a copy had not been seen with its last leaf. Having compared the photograph of the last leaf in the Dublin volume with this fragment, I found them to be identical; the Bagford specimen (*Harl. MSS.*, 5,929, No. 368) must therefore be assigned to the first *Galen*, and the last leaf of the *Lucian* is still to seek. Dr. Noble Johnson, who wrote the life of Linacre, states that a second edition of both treatises was published during Linacre's lifetime; it is quite possible, therefore, that he had seen or heard of this Dublin copy or of a similar one. It would be interesting to find out where and about what time the woodcut, 'The Adoration of the Shepherds,' was produced, and how it was likely to have come into Siberch's hands, and I have reason for hoping that some information on this subject will yet be obtained."

At the same meeting Mr. James read the following exhaustive paper on "Some Fragments of Fifteenth-Century Painted Glass from the Windows of King's College Chapel": "The fragments of fifteenth and

sixteenth century glass which I am bringing before you to-night have enjoyed a very chequered career. From what building they originally came we shall probably never know, and conjecture does not carry us far. Their immediate source is, however, familiar. They come from the windows in King's College Chapel. During last year an important work was initiated by the college in connection with these windows. In order to put you in complete possession of the situation I must expend a few words on their history. The work was originally executed under three contracts, namely: I. Barnard Flower: Contract lost. £100 was paid to him November 30, 1515. He died February 12, 1516-17. II. Galen Hoone, Richard Bounde, Thomas Reve, and James Nicholson. Contract dated April 30, 1526. For eighteen windows, including the east and west windows, and so 'seryatly' the residue. Six within a year from date, twelve within four years after that. III. Francis Williamson and Symond Symondes. Contract dated May 3, 1526. For four windows, two on each side; two within two years after date, two within three years after that. All were, therefore, to have been finished by 1531. There are in all twenty-five windows of old glass. We have contracts for twenty-two, but these include the west window; therefore twenty-one only were done. Therefore Barnard Flower did four. Probably the one dated 1517 is his, and also the second on the north. The windows have been re-leaded and repaired, wholly or in part, several times—first, between 1657 and 1664; next, in 1711-12; thirdly, in 1725-30; fourthly, in 1757-65; lastly, from 1841-59. This last restoration, carried out by Hedgeland, only extended to ten and a half windows, five on the north side (Nos. 8 to 12), five and a half on the south (Nos. 7 to 12). Consequently, the east window, seven windows on the north side (Nos. 1 to 7), and six on the south (Nos. 1 to 6) have not been touched since 1765, and it has now become necessary to renew the leading and iron-work of these. One window (No. 4 on the north side) has been completed; the work has been entrusted to Mr. Kempe, whose eminence as an artist in stained glass does not need to be dwelt upon by me; and at the present moment the same process of re-leading is being carried on for the north-eastern window of the chapel, with most satisfactory results. The fragments which I now exhibit are, in most cases, of considerably older date than the windows in which they have been found. They have been used as patches by the workmen who repaired the windows in the last century. I have gone through the separate bills for the last repair of glass in 1757-65 by William Harlock, and in the case of four windows I find entries of various numbers of 'pieces of old glass stoppin,' charged at a penny apiece, besides a large number in every window of 'pieces of stain and painting glass.' This shows that it was a recognised practice—at least, by Mr. Harlock—to patch up gaps in the painted windows with fragments of old stained glass in his possession. He would, no doubt, get hold of numbers of such fragments during the process of re-glazing the windows of college chapels and halls, and of churches in the town or neighbourhood. And it is also very likely that he or his predecessors would use portions of broken glass from other parts of the College Chapel itself, and in particular from the side

chapels or vestries, the glass in which seems to have been greatly damaged in early times.

The only connected portions of glass which I have recovered from the two windows already repaired or in course of repair are those fragments which are stuck upon the plain glass, and two more pieces which I submit at the same time. These belong to a series of twelve medallions, illustrating the occupations of the twelve months. Such series are very common in MSS., where they illustrate the Calendar, and on portals of churches, and also in painted glass—*e.g.*, in Chartres Cathedral (south choir-aisle), and formerly in the cloister of St. Edmund's Abbey. And probably the fashion of representing the months pictorially is very ancient. There exist mediæval copies of a fourth-century Roman Calendar in which such pictures occur (Ed. Strzygowski). The fragments before us represent: 1. A man in a curious hat, who is holding out his lap to catch something; he may be engaged in fruit-gathering, or possibly sowing. 2. A man nude (only his legs remain), who is about to get into the wine-vat to tread grapes; this will be the medallion for October. 3. A pig; the picture for November almost always represents swine being fed in oak-woods and a swine-herd watching them. 4. A man and a harnessed horse by him, possibly a ploughing scene; if so, it stands for March. 5. Portion of a figure holding a sickle, and a bunch of wheat, a sheaf, etc., standing corn behind; this is for August. All the glass is well drawn; it belongs to some time in the fifteenth century, possibly the middle. It is less likely to have been in a church than in a secular building, whether hall or parlour of a college or private house. Of the other fragments I will call your attention to: 1. A very pretty angel of fifteenth century. 2. Part of a figure of St. John Baptist in a hairy robe of sixteenth century. 3. A curious fragment representing gold and silver coins. I have ascertained, though it is difficult to decipher except in very clear light, that the coins are inscribed and carefully drawn. They are coins of Charles I., and the date on one of them is 1634. The scale seems to show that they must have been part of a large picture, and the date is remarkably late. I must also mention one or two facts connected with the north-west window; this is at present under repair. Probably from its position—it is more exposed than any other—this window has had to be mended far more frequently than the rest. First, in 1590-91, when stonework and ironwork were repaired and glass renewed to the value of £4 15s.; next in 1616-17; twice more (with the rest) in 1711-12 and about 1728; lastly, by Harlock in 1757, when fifty-five pieces of old glass were put in and 119 of coloured glass, and similarly in 1765, when Harlock leaded 14 feet and put in eighteen pieces of glass. This second small reparation of Harlock's must, I think, have been rendered necessary by some accidental breakage. I conjecture from the character and distribution of the patched portions that at one time or another a ladder or scaffold pole has fallen against the window and destroyed the top of one of the lower lights. This may very well have happened when the adjacent north-west tower was under repair, which was frequently the case. Of the reparation of 1590 I think I have found traces; the repairers at that time appear

to have done their best to reproduce the broken portion of the design. One head and a number of bits of architecture and canopy-work have been renewed in a very watery and thin-coloured glass, which Mr. Kempe's workmen have agreed with me in attributing to the latter end of the sixteenth century. Certain new facts may be mentioned in this place. The two main upper lights on the north have each of them a date inscribed near the top. In both cases it is 1527. And as the contracts with Galen Hoone and Co. and with Williamson and Symonds are both dated 1526, it becomes moderately certain that this window is to be attributed to one of the two firms and not to Barnard Flower, who seems to have died in 1525. This is the more curious, inasmuch as the next window to it in position and in sequence is almost certainly Flower's. Possibly he may have been responsible for the design and part of the execution. If not, it would seem that the windows were not put up in any rational order.

The scrolls on the window are also now decipherable, or partly so, for the first time. The four pictures in the window represent: 1. The rejection of Joachim's offering, because he was childless. 2. Joachim among the shepherds; an angel appearing to him. 3. Joachim and Anne meeting in front of the Golden Gate of the Temple. 4. The birth of the Virgin. The scrolls in the window are duplicated and confused, and have never, even in the architectural history, been made out; they are imperfect, but decipherable now, and I may as well put upon record my reading of them, beginning from the bottom: 1. 'Post triduum i (gap) iunii peperit an ma mari am beneuic (tam).' 2. 'Angelus in specie inuenis ap . . . uit ei . . . ens vt sei vi decret tus.' 3. 'Post . . . ienfni (ieiunii) peperit anna maria.' 4. 'Angelus in specie in uenis (iuuenis) apparuit.' The whole question of the mistakes in these scrolls I must reserve. Lastly, I would mention that before the present restoration a very large part of the glass in the lower half of the window was thoroughly dislocated and confused, some of it turned inside out, bodies were separated from heads, and legs fitted on to alien bodies. When the scaffolding is removed, all (or very nearly all) confusion will be seen to have disappeared, and the true artistic value of the pictures, which is very great, will be seen for the first time. It would not be right for me to leave this part of my subject without saying that the college could not have undertaken this work of restoring this very important and beautiful window had it not been for the generosity of one of its Fellows; but I don't know that I should be justified in mentioning his name publicly."

Proceeding to deal with the windows of the side chapel, Mr. James observed: "The second chantry from the west on the south side is that of Provost Hacombleyn, who gave the great lectern, was provost at the time of the glazing of the upper windows, and died in 1538. In the outer window of this chantry, there is glass which has suffered and been mended more than once, and was brought to its present condition by Provost Thackeray. I have written an inventory of it, which I will subjoin as an appendix, and here and elsewhere I will run briefly through the figure subjects. In the tracery or crocket lights, as the old bills call them (meaning *croisette* lights), are

various badges and angels, and on the *right* the four Evangelistic beasts; on the *left* the four Latin doctors (Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory); Augustine is holding a heart. In the lower lights are two half-length figures, or rather less than half-lengths. That on the left is Henry VI., who is crowned, and holds what I take to be a martyr's crown upon an open book. An engraving of this is a common object in Cambridge. That on the right is St. John the Evangelist. The character of these two figures is markedly Renaissance; that of the Evangelistic emblem and the four doctors is equally characteristic of the fifteenth century. But this is probably merely a case of survival of the older style, or of the using up of glass which the maker had in stock. In the lower window, the original glazing is fairly perfect. The lower lights contain quarries representing lily, rose, pansy, and daisy, and the initials 'R. H.', both in capitals, and also 'R. h.', this 'R' being a capital and the 'h' a cursive letter. I suspect that one of these stands for Robertus Hacombeyn, and the other for Rex henricus. In the tracery lights are various devices of the five wounds, sun and moon, etc., and some figures of saints, which mark the transition from Gothic work to Renaissance, but partake of the latter character most strongly. They are, counting from the left: St. Christopher, St. Ursula, Gabriel, the Virgin, St. Anne, St. John Baptist. The next chantry to the east of this is Robert Brassie's, who was provost in Mary's time from 1556-58, and endowed the chantry during the brief revival of the old religion. The inner window of this chantry contains his initials, but little else. In the outer window, however, eight figures have been placed which claim attention. They are part of a series older by many years than any other glass in the chapel, being all of them fifteenth century, and not late in that century, so far as I can judge. Where they originally stood it is impossible to tell. There is a very vague tradition that they came from Ramsey Abbey. I cannot trace this story to its source at present. All that I can definitely say is that the window was restored November, 1857. The figures from left to right are: 1. St. Peter with keys and an extraordinarily uncouth visage. 2. St. Philip with a long cross-staff. 3. A bishop in cope, tunicle, dalmatic, and alb, with crosier and book. He is beardless, and seems to have a modern head. 4. The Prophet Zephaniah (Daniel?), facing right, with open book and turban. A scroll: 'Accedam ad uos in iudicio et ero (testis) velox.' The words are from Malachi, but are often given to Daniel or Zephaniah. This figure and the next one to it are plainly portions of a series well known in mediæval art. It was very common to depict the twelve Apostles each bearing a scroll inscribed with a clause of the Apostles' Creed, and twelve prophets, whose scrolls bore quotations from their prophecies corresponding to the portions of the Creed. The text on the scroll we are considering corresponds to the clause, 'He shall come again to judge both the quick and the dead.' The figures of the Apostles in this window—or, at least, that of St. Peter—are too large, I think, to have been originally placed in the same window as Daniel, and neither has any trace of a scroll. 5. King David, seated, with turban and harp. His scroll reads, 'Redemisti me domine deus veritatis,' which corresponds to the

clause 'was crucified,' or else 'rose again from the dead,' in the Creed. 6. A person whom I take to be a doctor. He wears a bonnet with gold cord, and fingers a book. His gown had slits in the sleeves, but his arms are not put through the slits. This may be a canonist or writer, like St. Yvo of Chartres. 7. A youthful bishop, in mitre, chasuble, and alb, with crosier, round which from top to bottom is wound spirally a very long vexillum or handkerchief. I believe this to represent St. Erasmus. 8. St. James the Great, with scallop on shoulder, long staff and book.

Proceeding to the northern chapels, we pass over two which contain Roger Goad's arms in a most beautiful floral border (1613) and the shield of 'Matthew Stokys, Esquire, Bedell,' of Elizabethan time. In the fourth chapel from the east, on the north side, is a mass of fragments belonging to the series of apostles and prophets. The fragments of figures include the top of St. Philip's cross-staff, and a hand holding a loaf of bread which belonged either to St. Simon or St. Jude, and would of itself almost serve to fix the glass as being of English make, so characteristic of English art is the symbol. On the fragments of south side of this chapel may be deciphered almost the whole of the Apostles' Creed, and many portions of the prophecies corresponding thereto. In the chapel east of this are the remains of the figure of Hosea which belonged to the same series, and his scroll is fairly perfect. As to the history of this glass, it appears that John Rumpaine, M.A., who entered the college in 1495, glazed one of these windows on the north of the chapel, and I also find two bills of the last century for repairing the vestry windows. These are of 1774, when forty-nine pieces of coloured glass were put in, and of 1761, when eighteen pieces were required. These were also mended in 1647. Now, this glass is too old to be of Rumpaine's giving, and it is my own belief that these large figures must have come from some other church, hardly the old chapel of the college, which was narrow and humble. Possibly Ramsey Abbey, though why glass should have been removed thence before the dissolution one cannot guess, and there is no record of a later transfer; but more possibly still, I think, from the church of St. John Zachary, which was demolished in order to make room for the chapel. Certainly, some portions of the glass have found their way into the upper windows. The most conspicuous instance is the head of the lowest messenger (central light) in the third window from the west on the south side. He is an angel properly, but either Harlock or someone equally intelligent has given him a bearded head, which seems to be of the size and character of the heads in the side chapels. I hope some day to see this and other absurdities, which now glare upon us from the windows, set right. Yet the work is a very formidable one for just now, as twelve windows will have to be releaded, and one of them is the east window, which might count for two. The average cost for one window is over £200. I think I need hardly say more. *Quis reparabit?*





## Reviews and Notices of New Books.

[Publishers are requested to be so good as always to mark clearly the prices of books sent for review, as these notices are intended to be a practical aid to book-buying readers.]

**THE OLD CHURCHES OF OUR LAND:** The Why, How, and When of Them. For those in search of a hobby. By Francis Baldwin, Architect. With numerous illustrations. London: The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Crown 8vo. Cloth boards. Price 3s.

He who essays to write an introductory work on the subject of Church Architecture (a field already occupied by the excellent manuals of Mr. Parker, with their inimitable woodcuts, not to mention the books by Messrs. Bloxam, Paley, Barr, and others), makes a bold venture.

Any fresh book on the subject ought to possess some new feature to justify its appearance, and in this Mr. Baldwin's work is deficient. It would be unfair to expect better illustrations than those of the books we have mentioned, and we therefore turn to the letterpress, in order to look for something new and better, but we are compelled to say that we are entirely disappointed. The first chapter certainly contains the germ of a good idea, in what may be called the dissection of an ancient and typical country church, but the process is not carried out sufficiently in detail to be of real help to a beginner. The idea, however, is good, and it might be usefully developed in a revised edition. In other respects the book is altogether unsatisfactory, and though it is a graceless task to say so, Mr. Baldwin really does not know his subject, and writes so carelessly, that it is impossible to do else than pronounce a very unfavourable verdict on the book.

Passing by a good deal, none of which is very original, and portions of which are scarcely accurate, we come to the following passage on page 51: "Before pursuing the subject on Norman architecture in England, it will be well to pause for a moment to glance at the buildings which they (*sic*) found here on their arrival. No remains whatever of any Anglo-Saxon buildings, except those of about a hundred small churches, are to be met with, and these are of the plainest and rudest description, scarcely meriting to be regarded as works of architecture. With the exception of a small chapel at Bradford-on-Avon, no one entire Saxon church exists anywhere; only a window here and a tower there, a chancel arch, or doorway, or a piece of walling."

A man who can speak in this contemptuous fashion, and in so ignorant a manner, of the pre-Conquest churches, still remaining in whole or part, at once writes himself down as an incompetent guide on English ecclesiastical architecture. Has Mr. Baldwin never heard of Worth Church in Sussex, of Deerhurst in Gloucestershire, or of Escomb in Durham? We presume that he has not, and that he is ignorant of the admirable series of papers on the pre-Conquest churches in Northumberland, Durham, and North

Yorkshire, which Mr. C. C. Hodges has been lately contributing to our contemporary, the *Reliquary*, and that he is also ignorant of Mr. J. Park Harrison's investigations at Oxford, while he entirely ignores the evidence afforded by pre-Conquest crosses and grave-slabs, of the high degree of excellence in ornamental design prevalent in the details of pre-Conquest architecture.

On page 94 we find a secular church described as one erected for "public worship, as distinguished from the *private* church of an abbey or monastery." Does not Mr. Baldwin know of the distinction between the secular and regular clergy, and that a secular church was simply a church served by clergy of the secular order? In the next paragraph we are told that "some of our cathedrals, such as Salisbury, York, Chichester, Winchester, and Exeter, were built as the cathedral churches of these dioceses; others, such as Gloucester, Ely, Peterborough, Durham, and Chester, were originally the churches of monasteries, there being in earlier times, when the population was sparser, fewer episcopal sees than were required later on." Can anything be more confusing than this? Here we have Ely and Durham classed among the monastic churches of Gloucester, Peterborough, and Chester, which were raised to cathedral rank by Henry VIII., while Winchester is jumbled up with a list of secular cathedral churches. On the next page we have some wholly inadequate remarks about the word "minster," and then we are told that Lincoln possesses "the monastic adjunct of cloisters as do also the secular foundations of *Norwich* (!), Chichester, Wells, and Hereford." In a succeeding paragraph we learn that "Instead of the bishop and his clergy sitting round the apse of the cathedral itself to hold their deliberations, as in the early basilican churches, the English Churchmen dispensed with the apse, and erected a separate building wherein to hold their local parliaments. Thus the chapter-house is an institution peculiar to this native land of parliaments, and possesses an architectural importance which frequently rivals that of the cathedral to which it is attached." From this one would gather (amongst a lot else which is either sheer nonsense or altogether wrong), that chapter-houses are adjuncts of cathedral churches only. However, on the next page Mr. Baldwin tells us that: "When attached to an abbey, the chapter-house served a similar purpose to that of a cathedral chapter-house, and was often of equal architectural importance, such as that at Southwell Minster—a perfect gem of architecture." From which we gather that Mr. Baldwin supposes that Southwell was an abbey church, and not, as it is, one of the most ancient secular foundations in the country, its secular chapter dating from pre-Conquest times. After all this we need say little more of the book. It will be no surprise to hear that the author supposes the sepulchre was a place where "on Good Friday the crucifix was laid with great reverence and solemnity," and where it was "watched without ceasing until Easter Day, when it was removed and carried back to the altar during the singing of a special service of rejoicing"; or that (page 154) "architecturally speaking, a chantry is a chapel built for the purpose of celebrating masses for the benefit of the soul of the founder, over or near

whose tomb it is generally erected." More than enough has been said of this unfortunate book to condemn it. One only wonders what induced Mr. Baldwin to attempt to write it without greater knowledge, or how the Tract Committee of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (under whose auspices it is published) came to pass it.



LONDON AND THE KINGDOM. By Reginald R. Sharpe, D.C.L. Vol. ii. ; pp. xi, 650. London : Longmans, Green, and Co. Price 10s 6d.

The interest of this second volume is very great indeed, for it is more than ever curious to note how completely the life of the nation was reflected in that of its capital. Not only so, but we think that this narrowing of certain aspects of the past helps the reader very materially to understand the temper and spirit of the times, more than is the case where the wider range of national life is under review as a whole. This strikes us as being eminently the case with regard to the reigns of James I. and Charles I., as exhibited in the acts and relations of those sovereigns towards the City of London. It becomes at once plain how utterly insupportable such misruling must have been, and it is all the easier to realize the readiness of people to seek relief in a radical change of government, where such misgoverning, to all appearance, would become impossible. It is not, however, so clear, from studying the history of London in Dr. Sharpe's pages, why Laud became an object of so much dislike in London, except that it must have been because he was known to be one of the King's advisers. His personal interference in civic matters seems to have been but slight.

The volume opens with the accession of James I., and closes with the death of Queen Anne. It includes, therefore, the whole of that period of upheaval which changed England, and made her what she has become in our own day. It covers also the period of the Plague and Great Fire, which ushered in the new era as regards London itself.

The first chapter of this volume records the reception of James I. by the City after his accession, and among other matters we have a full account of the Plantation of Ulster, with its many vicissitudes. In the deception practised on the City regarding it, we have the first instance of those episodes which followed again and again during the reigns of James I. and Charles I., and in which the bad faith of the sovereign came to be regarded almost as a matter of course.

The way in which Dr. Sharpe has woven together the thread of the history of London with that of the country at large, shows great discrimination and judgment, and it is needless to say that this second volume loses nothing from the stirring events of the period which it covers. The value of such a work lies not merely in the bare facts which are recorded, useful as such a record is, but rather in helping to focus the eye of the student of history on details in the drift of events, which may aid him very greatly in understanding the true relations of cause and effect. We have nothing but praise to bestow on this new volume of a very useful and interesting work.

POPULAR COUNTY HISTORIES. A HISTORY OF LANCASHIRE. By Lieut.-Colonel Henry Fishwick, F.S.A. London : Elliot Stock. Pp. 304. Cloth. Price 7s. 6d.

The publication of this volume has followed closely on that by Chancellor Ferguson, which dealt with the *History of Westmorland*, and it is curious to note the difference regarding these two contiguous counties, whose histories have appeared almost simultaneously. Westmorland, small in area and with scarcely very much history to relate; Lancashire, on the other hand, a large county in area, comprising an important mercantile district, and full of historical interest. If Chancellor Ferguson suffered from a paucity of material in writing the *History of Westmorland*, Colonel Fishwick's difficulty has lain in the opposite direction, and it has clearly been a matter which called for a considerable exercise of judgment, to know what to omit and what to include in the *History of Lancashire*. No doubt opinions may differ, as to how far Colonel Fishwick has exercised a wise discretion in the matter, but in our opinion he has succeeded remarkably well, and that, too, in a very difficult matter. The observation in the preface that the author has "necessarily left out much which many readers would prefer should have been inserted; but I trust that I have not inserted what some would wish I had omitted," ought to disarm criticism on that point.

No county has had a more important or varied history than the county palatine of Lancaster in the ages that are long past, while the growth of the mercantile industries and commerce during the two last centuries, which have raised it and its cities and towns to their modern size and influence, gives Lancashire a position shared by but one other county in England. In dealing with the history of Lancashire, Colonel Fishwick has divided the subject into the following chapters and sections: (1) Introductory; (2) Pre-Roman Lancashire; (3) The Romans as Conquerors and Rulers; (4) Roman Remains; (5) The Saxon and the Dane; (6) The Normans and the Plantagenets (A.D. 1066-1485); (7) Lancashire in the Time of the Tudors (A.D. 1485-1603); (8) The 17th Century; (9) Religion; (10) The Rebellions; (11) Progress in the 18th Century; (12) The Dawn of the 19th Century; (13) Miscellany.

The later chapters are more full, and enter more into detail than the earlier ones, but this is only natural in the history of such a county as Lancashire. In looking through the volume we have detected only two actual mistakes. Both these occur in a footnote on page 212, where some articles in a mediæval inventory are inadequately, if not erroneously, explained. On the whole, we very cordially welcome this latest addition to the series of Popular County Histories. The book contains, we should add, a full index.



LORD JOHAN FISSHER : An Historical, Genealogical, and Heraldic Research. By R. von Fischer-Treuenfeld. Paper, pp. x., 67. London : Ede, Dearberg, and Co. Price 3s.

This book suffers from its author being a foreigner. No Englishman would have disguised the personality of the admirable Bishop of Rochester, Dr. John

Fisher, under so un-English a title as that chosen by the author, merely because in the fuller title-page of some of his printed works the good bishop was so designated. The ecclesiastical "lord," as a translator of the Latin "dominus," on those title-pages is here made to look as if Bishop Fisher had been of noble birth, instead of having been the son of a prosperous English merchant or shopkeeper. To the same cause of foreign authorship we have such mistakes as (p. 34): "the glorious Minster of St. Johannes of Beverley"; or the present learned Chancellor of the Metropolitan Chapter of York amusingly misdescribed on page 57 as: "the Archivist of York Minster, J. Raine, Esq." (!) The same defect has prevented the author from estimating at their proper values, the various English authorities and writers whose works he cites. The main object of the work seems to be, to prove that the Bishop's family was of German origin, and also that after his cruel execution a sort of general "massacre of the innocents" took place with respect to the other Fishers in England, the result being that those of them who escaped emigrated to Germany and Holland, where various families of Visschers have descended from them. We see nothing in what the author states which in any way establishes his propositions. The foreign origin of the Bishop's family rests entirely on the assumption of a certain "Von Fisscher pedigree" compiled in Germany, and no proof of the connection of the Bishop with the German "Visschers" is produced. Neither is there any evidence of the after descent of German families of the name from the Yorkshire stock. The name "Fisher," too, is of such common occurrence in England, that it is absurd to argue as if all the persons who bore it as their surname in the reign of Henry VIII. were related or had a common origin. It is one of those patronymics which must have naturally evolved itself over and over again in different parts of the country. Moreover, the Bishop came of ordinary middle-class parentage, and in no way belonged, as the author seems to suppose, to any well-known English family. An English writer would not have fallen into such mistakes. Although, therefore, we are compelled to discard the author's premises as well as his conclusions, we are bound to say that his book shows signs of genuine research, and that he has unearthed a great deal which is new as to Bishop Fisher's more immediate family connections. The investigation has manifestly been a work of love to the author throughout, but the good Bishop was such a typical Englishman of the best and worthiest sort, that we feel glad to find that the author fails to substantiate by the least proof his contention of the Bishop's foreign origin; thus we are happily in no way called upon to admit that the Bishop did not come of a good old English stock.

GRIMM LIBRARY, vol. ii. THE LEGEND OF PERSEUS, vol. i. By E. S. Hartland, F.S.A. London: David Nutt. Cr. 8vo., pp. xxxiv + 228. 5s. net.

In this second volume of the Grimm Library Mr. Hartland deals with the classical legend of Perseus, and proceeds to trace its counterparts in various folk-stories throughout the world. Speaking of the legend in its classical form, as we have it in Ovid and Lucian,

Mr. Hartland points out that it consists of three leading trains of incident, viz.: "(1) The birth, including the prophecy; the precautions taken by Akrisios; the supernatural conception; the exposure of mother and babe; and the fulfilment of the prophecy by the death of Akrisios. (2) The quest of the Gorgon's head, including the jealousy of Polydektes; the divine gift of weapons; the visit to the Graie; the slaughter of Medusa; and the vengeance on Polydektes. (3) The rescue of Andromeda, including the fight with the monster and the quelling of Phineus, the pretender to the maiden's hand."

"Singly," Mr. Hartland proceeds, "these trains of incident appear in many traditions, sometimes in one form, sometimes in another," and the line he adopts in dealing with them is to consider them first in combination (with the object of tracing the legend in its wanderings and modifications), and then (leaving out the details) examining the central incidents, so as to arrive at the ideas which underlie them.

A very remarkable approximation to the classical form of the story, which was related only a few years ago by an ignorant Italian peasant woman, is quoted in full by Mr. Hartland. It is certainly a most remarkable folk-tale to be found extant at the present day, whatever may be the explanation of its existence in a form so closely allied to the classical story.

Mr. Hartland deals in the first chapter with the legend of Perseus as found in the classical writers; this is followed by variants of the legend in modern folklore. Then the incident of the supernatural birth as related in "Märchen," or tales told for simple amusement, is given. This, again, in turn, is followed by the incident of the supernatural birth in Sagas, and in Practical Superstitions. Finally, in the seventh and last chapter, the author deals with "Death and Birth as Transformation."

The remaining portion of his subject matter is left for another volume. We had marked several passages for quotation, as well as many of the legends and superstitions, but on reflection we have felt it better not to make disconnected quotations at all, but to leave our readers to study the subject as a whole in Mr. Hartland's very thorough and scientific treatment of it. Folklore, treated as it is in the scientific method employed in the present work, is raised at once to a high level of importance, and is full of possibilities in the near future. It is a new science, but it is one which is already being elevated to a high standard of scholarly excellence by the publication of such works as the one before us. We shall await the appearance of the second volume of Mr. Hartland's work with much interest, when we shall hope to deal with the subject thoroughly as a whole. Meanwhile, we content ourselves with this brief commendation of the first volume.

CROMWELL'S SOLDIER'S BIBLE. With a Bibliographical Introduction, and a Preface by Field-Marshal the Right Hon. Viscount Wolseley, K.P., G.C.B. London: Elliot Stock. pp. 5 (16). Price 5s.

This is a facsimile reproduction of the *Soldier's Pocket Bible*, two copies only of which are known to be in existence. One of these is in the British Museum and the other in the United States. It has

always been a tradition that the soldiers in Cromwell's army were provided with pocket Bibles, and various conjectures have been made as to which edition of the Bible was thus used. The discovery of the real *Soldier's Pocket Bible* is, we are told in the introduction, "due to the late Mr. George Livermore, of Cambridge Port, Massachusetts. In May, 1854, at the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Bible Society Governor Washburn referred in the following terms to the influence of the Bible upon Cromwell's soldiers: 'In the army every man had a Bible in his knapsack, and daily read it, and sang the praises of God.'" Mr. Livermore pointed out that this was not literally true, and that it was not the entire Bible which Cromwell's soldiers carried in their knapsacks, but a selection of appropriate texts printed in pocket form, "and which was generally buttoned between the coat and waistcoat, next to the heart, proving, perhaps, sometimes a defence from the weapons of the enemies of their bodies as well as from the wicked one who sought to subdue their souls." The selection of texts in the *Soldier's Pocket Bible* derives some additional interest from the fact that it bears the *imprimatur* of the celebrated Nonconformist minister, Edward Calamy (who, however, is misdescribed, by a slip, on p. 4 as a 'nonjuror').

The little book is reproduced in facsimile with its curious leathern cover, and will, no doubt, be duly appreciated by those who take a special interest in Cromwellian times and customs.



## Correspondence.

### WELSH LAND COMMISSION.

Referring to your account in this month's *Antiquary* of my evidence given before the Welsh Land Commission, I certainly did not say that "Holt" was the Welsh name for "Lyons." What I said was, in brief, that "Holt," or, rather, "The Holt" (meaning "The Wood"), was the *English* name for the place whose earlier name was "Lyons"; that I should not be surprised if "Lyons" was an English corruption or misunderstanding of the Welsh name of Chester ("Caer Lleon"); and that Holt, or Farndon, was an *outpost* of the Roman "Deva" (Chester). I have never believed, and do not now believe, that Deva was anywhere else than at Chester. I may add that there is no reason to suppose, so far as I know, that "the arms of Holt were a lion"; the lions on the Holt maces are simply the lions on the royal shield. If I spoke of the charter to Holt of Richard II.

it was a slip of the tongue; the charter I referred to was that of Thomas, Earl of Arundel, in the thirteenth year of Henry IV.

ALFRED NEOBARD PALMER,

Wrexham, N. Wales,  
October 2, 1894.

[The references to Mr. Palmer's evidence before the Welsh Land Commission were taken from what appeared to be a *verbatim* report in the *Oswestry Advertiser*. We regret any inaccuracy in the citing of Mr. Palmer's evidence.—ED.]

### CHILDREN'S SONGS.

After reading what has been said of children's games and songs in Berkshire and Berwickshire, I venture to send the words of one which was in great favour fifty years ago, and may possibly be so still, at East Ilsley, a village on the Berkshire downs, near Churn, a district now so well known in connection with the autumn manoeuvres.

Early on sunny spring and summer mornings, while the dew still lay on the grass, the children would go out on the downs and rub their hands on the moist green turf, then, holding them out towards the sun to dry, would sing—

We've washed our hands in the water,  
Which was never rained nor run  
And we'll dry them with the napkin,  
Which was never wove nor spun.

Miss Thoyts, writing of a more wooded and enclosed part of the county, does not seem to have met with these pretty couplets, which I have never seen in print.

MARIANNE LOVEDAY.

Arlescote, near Banbury.  
October 16, 1894.

NOTE TO PUBLISHERS.—We shall be particularly obliged to publishers if they will always state the price of books sent for review.

TO INTENDING CONTRIBUTORS.—Unsolicited MSS. will always receive careful attention, but the Editor cannot return them if not accepted unless a fully stamped and directed envelope is enclosed. To this rule no exception will be made.

It would be well if those proposing to submit MSS. would first write to the Editor stating the subject and manner of treatment.

Letters containing queries can only be inserted in the "ANTIQUARY" if of general interest, or on some new subject. The Editor cannot undertake to reply privately, or through the "ANTIQUARY," to questions of the ordinary nature that sometimes reach him. No attention is paid to anonymous communications or would-be contributions.





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